



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Tuesday
24 September 1991

Daily Report

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FBIS-SOV-91-185

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24 September 1991

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Soviet-U.S. Verification Commission Meets

LD2309190691 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT
23 Sep 91

[Text] Geneva September 23 TASS—The Soviet-U.S. special verification commission opened its 11th session here today.

The commission has been instituted in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

The session will discuss the practical implementation of the treaty.

Military Inspectors Complete Inspection in France

LD2109042491 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1810 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep (TASS)—It is being officially reported here that a group of Soviet military inspectors has today completed its inspection of military activities in a specified area of French territory. The inspection was carried out on the basis of the relevant articles in the Vienna document from the 1990 talks on confidence-building and security measures.

British Armored Brigade in Germany Inspected

LD2209020691 Moscow TASS in English 2344 GMT
21 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—It was officially announced here on Saturday that on September 16, in accordance with the provisions of the 1990 Vienna document and talks on confidence and security building measures in Europe, the Soviet side approached Britain and Germany with a request to check information on armed forces and plans for the deployment of the main systems of armaments and machinery in the 22nd Armour Brigade of the First Armour Division of Britain located in the town of Hohn, Germany.

The demand was met and on September 21, representatives of the Soviet Defence Ministry visited the indicated unit at the place of its permanent deployment to check on the conformity of the earlier received information with the real state of affairs.

Soviet 'Instability' Influences Reforms in NATO

LD2209045991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1322 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS foreign observer Valeriy Rzhevskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep (TASS)—The visit by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner to Japan demonstrates a creative determination to renew NATO strategy. Speaking at a news conference in Tokyo, he spoke about the readiness of the North Atlantic alliance

to cooperate with the supporters of changes in the USSR, and of additional reductions in the armed forces in central Europe. Such an approach is caused by the flexible reaction to the changes that have taken place in the USSR after August 1991, as well as by the understanding that NATO, still a gigantic military machine, now has no target. Moreover, statements coming from the new Soviet military command in Moscow have concerned the impending deep reforms in the armed forces and reductions in weapons. Doesn't this signal that a common meeting ground for both sides has been defined regarding the strengthening of European security?

The problem, however, is in the following: Yes, it is said at NATO Headquarters that the USSR is no longer an enemy. At the same time, with the USSR on the road to chaos and the future of the Union and its components still open, it seems quite logical that this will force Western partners, including NATO, to look at even the nearest prospects without unnecessary optimism. It is precisely the uncertainty and instability in our realm which are the restraining factors. European partners are not used to doing anything without an insurance policy. To them, in this respect, NATO is a tried and tested mechanism for ensuring security. For this reason, the inevitable historical process of reductions in the armed forces and weapons on the continent will depend on the foundations of our future Union, and on its soundness. At present, the events in the USSR are accelerating, and it is difficult to predict them. In such circumstances, the words of the NATO secretary general about the intention to develop cooperation with the reformist forces in the USSR carry with them all the more weight.

Worldwide Issues

Question of Soviet Union's UNSC Status Raised

PM2409084591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Shalnev report: "United Nations: Reforms Needed"]

[Text] New York—The UN Secretariat has prepared and circulated another "debt book," a detailed list of the member countries' financial debts to the international community broken down into numerous sections, for the opening of the 46th UN General Assembly session.

We usually figure "in the first few lines." As of the end of August we owe the UN regular budget, used to cover current expenditure, including UN officials' wages, more than \$46 million, plus the debts incurred in maintaining numerous peacekeeping forces in various areas of the globe and various groups of observers.

Our biggest debt here is for the peacekeeping forces in Lebanon: almost \$80 million.

By "we" I am referring to the state formation that is still designated by nameplates at the United Nations bearing the inscription "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." What is more, the Ukraine and Belorussia, which are also members of the United Nations, are also in debt.

One of our high-ranking Foreign Ministry staffers once argued in IZVESTIYA that it is wrong to lump together all these sums as debts, as the date for some of our dues, in particular those to the regular budget, has simply not approached yet.

But, from my viewpoint, whether the dates are near or not is a mere formality. When they do arrive, we will have to pay these sums. We can still delay payment on the peacekeeping forces, just as, incidentally, we have long been doing with the Lebanese forces. But things are far more difficult with the regular budget. First, the United Nations is experiencing a chronic financial crisis brought about and exacerbated, in particular, because many countries simply prefer not to pay the organization. According to estimates cited recently by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, the amount of unpaid dues is nearly \$1 billion.

Second, there is always the threat of sanctions being used against persistent defaulters, such as being deprived of a vote. The very idea that we too may be faced with the threat of sanctions throws us into disarray, although everyone is well aware that things will not reach the point of our losing our vote but will stop at some point. We are, after all, a great power, a permanent Security Council member, and, thus, one of the rulers of the world's destiny in terms of status.

But I think it is high time that the ruler, either alone or as coauthor, puts some very specific proposals to the United Nations with a view to major UN administrative and financial reform, the kind of reform that, in plain terms, would enable us to boost the economic productivity of our involvement in the international community.

Without doubt, there can and must be other reasons for reform: The world is changing before our eyes and the United Nations is still operating under a charter formulated back in 1945 that saw only five countries as being worthy of permanent Security Council membership. But economic and financial reasons must, in my opinion, take first place.

The possibilities are not limitless, but they do exist. The dollars we pay into the United Nations should ultimately work effectively for us and not only for the interests of numerous Third World countries. We may get the dollars back via more sensible participation in the UN development program, via the use of our servicemen and military hardware in peacekeeping operations as well as the UNICEF program.

I know that many splendid ideas have been aired and studied in detail, both by our diplomats and our UN personnel, as to how we can cease to be a chronic debtor

and become an active recipient. I am afraid that the vagueness and confusion that have now developed in many departments having some connection with UN activity, primarily the Union Foreign Ministry, may bury former ideas and may even bury new ones.

...This, the 46th session that begins Tuesday, will be unique because the events of the few weeks preceding it were unique.

The Baltic states, the only three countries that were members of the League of Nations but are not UN members, will be admitted to the organization on the first day.

The Soviet delegation, wherein, as I understand it, the various republics will have far broader representation than ever before, will be unprecedentedly polyphonic: each with their own opinion, their own position, and, to all appearances, their own view of how these republics' relations with the international community should develop.

But I would not like to be one of the UN diplomats calculating how a statement by the representative of a particular republic squares with the statement by another's representative and, mainly, with Moscow's position.

But diplomats will have to do that and at the same time think in earnest what the Soviet Union's status may be in the not so distant future, above all its status on the Security Council. That is already being discussed behind the scenes.

Diplomats Assailed for Coup Performances

91UF1188A Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian
6 Sep 91 p 4

[ROSSIYA PRESS SERVICE-INTERCEPT report: "The Top Man Sneezed and the Whole World Caught It?"]

[Text] As we know, "Diplomat No. 1," Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, was struck down with a severe cold during the days of the coup. A number of his deputies immediately attempted to straddle the fence and adopted a quite convenient, typical Ministry of Foreign Affairs position of "neither peace nor war," which did not in the slightest prevent them from using their loud and influential voices over official channels to demand "obedience and more obedience" to the new-fledged president, and this is precisely what those at Smolenskaya-Sennaya Square considered Yanayev on 19 August.

Extraordinary luck greeted Leonid Zamyatin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Great Britain, on this occasion: Unlike Gorbachev, he had surrounded himself with clever advisers who protected him from the official declaration in support of the junta. This in no way prevented him, however, from expressing his personal attitude toward what was taking place within a narrow

circle of people, which was, naturally, approving. USSR Ambassador to the United States Komplektov acted in just about the same way, and American journalists immediately recalled their dormant suspicions of the Soviet ambassador as an advocate of communist dogma.

Yuri Dobinin, USSR ambassador to France, also did our country a disservice. On this occasion the experienced diplomat bet on the wrong horse. It is he who, during the opening hours of the putsch, suggested to the Elysee Palace that Gorbachev was indeed ill and pushed Francois Mitterrand toward adopting a temporizing position.

The Soviet charge d'affaires in Tokyo did everything possible on Thursday to prove that there had not been a Monday, that the week had begun directly with Tuesday. But the fact is that on the day of the coup he told journalists: "The state of emergency declared by Genadiy Yanayev for a period of six months was an absolutely necessary step." Yet on Thursday he swore to those same journalists that he had feelings of relief upon learning of Gorbachev's return to Moscow. Diplomacy is a delicate thing, and far from comprehensible to everyone.

Thank God those same "devils" remain, waiting in the backwater; for example, the Soviet ambassador to Vietnam recommended to that country's officials that they not rush to send congratulatory telegrams to the new power in Moscow. The conduct of Boris Pankin, Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, shines against a filthy background. As early as 20 August he, and the majority of embassy personnel right after him (according to information from a Radio Svoboda [freedom] correspondent, with the exception of resident KGB employees and the military attache, who could not betray their principles) registered sharp protest against the coup d'etat in the USSR.

But the most amazing thing, against the background of powerful and ruthless personnel shuffling taking place at all levels, is the fact that standing as the de facto head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, the author of the initial telegrams and circulars in praise of the putschists.

ILO Ready To Assist With Labor Legislation

PM2309145991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Sep 91 Single Edition p 5

[V. Kikilo report: "ILO Ready To Help"]

[Text] We have to prepare to resolve the problems which are going to arise in the future. What, for example, are we going to do about the approaching unemployment and appearance of numerous migrant workers? How can we prevent reduced social protection for the working people and at the same time change our policy of labor remuneration, reorienting it toward the end result?

There are quite a few other areas where our knowledge and experience are very rudimentary. The mechanism for calculating the consumer price index, for example. Resolving labor disputes. Preventing major accidents and eliminating their consequences. Untraditional forms of employment...

Obviously our economy must be brought into line with world standards in all the above respects and more besides. It can be done: on the basis of world experience and the norms of international law. The International Labor Organization (ILO)—one of the United Nations' specialized institutions—could give us considerable help in this respect.

"A stable world is possible if it is founded on social justice," ILO Deputy Director General David Taylor loves to repeat. Leaving his wife and four children in Geneva, where the ILO is based, Mr Taylor flew to Moscow to say: If you need help, we are ready to give it.

"It is important that you preserve a single social space as well as a single economic space," Taylor said. "That means being able to preserve and protect working people's rights, wherever they may find themselves during the breakup of the Union and subsequent emergence of individual states. You will need a legal framework to do this. It is a question of drawing up legislation in areas such as social protection, social insurance, conditions of hire, safety at work, health protection, child labor, and minimum wage.

"We can also help you to form independent trade unions," he said. "You have to have a good idea of some seemingly simple but nevertheless fundamental things. Do many people know, for example, how to hold a trade union meeting, how to draw up a trade union constitution, or how a trade union should represent its workers to their employers? Finally, we can instruct employers and help them to set up their own organizations. So there are three aspects to the task: The state will be responsible for creating the legal framework, working people will form genuinely free, independent trade unions, and, finally, employers will set up their own organizations."

The ILO itself is like three bodies rolled into one, bringing together representatives of governments, employers, and working people. This allows it to develop an independent, universal approach to tackling problems—an approach based on comparing different viewpoints. This organization's invaluable experience in finding a consensus is extremely important for our country.

Yes, gentlemen, your ways are strange to us indeed. Our relations with the ILO have been strained ever since it was first established in 1919—until very recently, that is. We always regarded ILO policy as conciliationist "social betrayal," to use V.I. Lenin's expression. Now the pendulum has swung in the other direction. So decisively that relations between the Soviet Union and the ILO have become "exceptionally warm and close," to quote Taylor. Maybe this will be of some benefit to us?

CSCE Conference's Appeal on Missing Journalists

*LD2109061391 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1710 GMT 20 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep (TASS)—Today, in Moscow, at the session of the Conference on the Human Dimension, an appeal has been adopted on the disappearance of the Soviet journalists in Yugoslavia. Representatives of CSCE member countries have appealed to the leaders of the SFRY and its republics and to all those in Yugoslavia, who have the opportunity, to help discover the fate of Viktor Nogin and Gennadiy Kurinnoy, who were exercising their professional duties.

International Forum on Political Pluralism Ends

*LD2309004791 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT
22 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Pakhomov]

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—The international conference "Building Foundations of Political Pluralism" ended in Moscow on Sunday.

The conference was held at the Slovyanskaya Hotel at the initiative of the National Republican Institute for International Affairs, an international political development foundation based in Washington, D.C.

The three-day conference, hosted by the Moscow City Council and the Democratic Russian Foundation, was attended by over 100 representatives of political movements and parties from Russia, the Ukraine, Georgia, Moldavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Mongolia.

The conference was addressed by twenty-five U.S. political experts in establishing political parties, developing their structures and activities, holding elections and taking polls.

Participants discussed the place and role of political parties in society, studying political opponents, assigning party tasks and ways to solve them and holding elective offices, as well as the preparation and organisation of election campaigns.

A poll of 100 political party leaders taken on Saturday showed them to be overwhelmingly in favour of the privatisation of farms, industry and business. Although dissatisfied with the pace of reforms, they are optimistic about the future.

About 52 per cent of respondents prioritised economic stability, nine per cent—national security and 32 per cent did not have any particular opinion.

Jack Buechner, institute president, announced the creation of a major internship programme entitled "Freedom Ambassadors" designed to promote pluralism in the Soviet Union, the Baltic states and other countries.

The programme envisages regular visits of political party representatives to the United States to upgrade their

skills. Economists, financiers and entrepreneurs will spend from two to three months in the United States familiarising themselves with U.S. businessmen's experience.

United States & Canada**West's Attitude 'Changed Little' Toward USSR**

*LD2309174591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1313 GMT 23 Sep 91*

[TASS international observer Albert Balebanov commentary]

[Text] [No dateline as received] Such radical changes are taking place in our country that it takes one's breath away. At times one cannot even believe one is a witness to and a participant in a true revolution. The Soviet Union has already ceased to be what it was a year, six months, or even three months ago. Events are taking place with such speed that often one just cannot keep track of them. The pace of reform accelerated particularly after the August putsch.

In short, the country is changing literally in front of one's eyes. Unfortunately, however, the attitude of the West toward our country, which has become more oriented toward the individual, more democratic, and more humane, less politicized and militarized, has changed little. What is there to say about other aspects of our relations if Western states are unable to resolve the question of coordinated aid for the Soviet economy, which is in a state of crisis as a result of the breakup of the old economic structures. The West as a whole is unable (and evidently does not very much wish) to assist the rapid acceptance of our country into the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as an equal member. This would help us to enter the world economy more effectively and less painfully.

My critics may object: How is it that there are no changes in Western policy? Changes there are, and plenty of them. In Washington, for example, we are promised most-favored nation status in trade; in the EC we are assured that material assistance will be provided and that they are already starting to help; and even in Japan there is a growing willingness to participate in technical and economic assistance for our country. Be that as it may, all these are in a way petty, small-scale actions, and consequently are unable to provide real assistance to the USSR.

I think that J. Matlock, the former U.S. ambassador to the USSR, was correct when, speaking recently in the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, he stressed that the current changes in the USSR "are so fundamental, that there is a need to review our policy in an equally fundamental way." Matlock is not alone in this regard. The question is also being raised in the United States of the need to change priorities in the activity of the CIA and military intelligence that have grown obsolete as a

result of the abrupt weakening of Soviet military power. FRG Chancellor H. Kohl feels it necessary that countries of the West should provide assistance to the USSR through joint efforts, and Italian Foreign Minister G. de Michelis is generally proposing setting up a stabilization fund for this purpose.

And yet, if anything is now lacking in the policy of the West with regard to the Soviet Union, it is profound and constructive changes, and a rapid adaptation to the new look USSR. I am convinced that without this, sincerity and a genuine benevolence will hardly mark the state of our relations. I think there are few people who doubt that these elements are manifestly lacking, just as there is no one who doubts the striving of certain forces to make use of the disorders in our country and its temporary weakness in order to belittle, wring concessions of one kind or another, and impose, if not crushing agreements, then agreements that are manifestly disadvantageous to us. And so on and so forth. I am convinced that very close cooperation with the USSR in all directions—and in the first instance in restructuring our economy—would correspond to the long-term goals of the West. The sooner Western circles comprehend this, the better it will be, both for them and for us.

U.S. Increased Combat Readiness During Coup

PM1909121591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 Sep 91 First Edition p 3

[Article by military observer Colonel M. Ponomarev:
"World Remains a Dangerous Place"]

[Text] The words in the headline of these notes are not mine. And they have been taken not from some 10-year old article pervaded by the spirit of confrontation and the "cold war." They were uttered just the other day by B. Scowcroft, the U.S. President's national security aide, when he addressed representatives of U.S. business circles in Detroit.

So why have they attracted my attention? First, they come from a man who is not only supremely well informed but who is also one of those who elaborate U.S. policy, primarily military policy. These words were heard among an audience that is demanding not sentiments and emotions, not diplomatic subterfuges, but precise facts and a sober assessment of the situation. Second, this phrase immediately arranged into a single entity the chain of various reports from the mass media that had been uncoordinated, outwardly somewhat unremarkable, and concealed in an avalanche of news, but which in fact represent individual elements of the overall picture.

G. Bush's rejoinder at a news conference in Kennebunkport during the August events in our country may perhaps serve as the key to solving the riddle of this picture, which exists in the real world but is concealed most cunningly from the eyes of the public. To a direct question about whether the administration was taking any specific military actions, he evasively noted: "I do

not try in any way to intensify any possibility of military confrontation." This "in any way" applied primarily to whether the United States was taking any military steps in connection with these events.

But after all the lack of information in no way unfailingly attests to the absence of facts. There were facts, and today many of them are to some degree or other becoming known. Here are some of them:

"Without once, in the course of the Moscow coup, did leaders of the U.S. armed forces give U.S. troops an official order to increase their degree of combat readiness," the influential WASHINGTON POST noted in late August. "Nonetheless, they took hundreds of cautious steps throughout the world to increase combat readiness." The TASS correspondent in Washington, citing the U.S. press, reported that the Marine Corps had redeployed troops. The 26th Marine Expeditionary Division began to move to the eastern Mediterranean and the 15th Division to the Persian Gulf region. The 11th Division, in the western Pacific, was placed in a state of heightened combat readiness. And that was just the Marines.

Did the politicians and military leaders in Washington have grounds for being seriously alarmed? They believe they did. First, the positive results achieved in the international arena since the end of the "cold war" had been put in doubt, and this end itself suddenly seemed to be not a steady warming but just a brief and fortuitous thaw. Second, fears arose that the Soviet leadership would be unable to cope with the control of strategic nuclear weapons. Third, they could not fail to think of the consequences of the sharp aggravation of various internal conflicts in the USSR, which could not only have drastically undermined the stability of the situation in the country but also have spilled across its borders. Fourth...

Actually, there is a lot that could be cited here. But it is not a case of the endless list of various factors but of how real these fears were. I shall not venture to form an opinion as to how it all was (and is today) in reality. But Washington believes that the alarm was entirely justified. "Pentagon spokesmen," THE WASHINGTON POST wrote, "informed us that throughout the entire period when the outcome remained unclear, the U.S. military command could not disregard the possibility that civil war in the Soviet Union might extend to other countries or the likelihood that a more hostile government might come to control the enormous Soviet military. Some U.S. military spokesmen note throughout the three days of the coup they were faced with the possibility of a profound change in their view of the strategic map of the world. And not only their view. It is a case of tangible things.

Americans are rightly renowned for their efficiency. Their words are immediately followed by actions. Reports now are filtering into the press that newly combined aviation units are being formed that are

capable, if another crisis erupts, of deploying a whole range of weapons ready for combat operations immediately upon arrival at their destination. These units possess precise plans for fulfilling their combat mission and agreements on command and control. The first such unit, including F-15 fighters, F-16 fighter bombers, A-10 attack aircraft, B-52 strategic bombers, and aircraft of other types, is already deployed at the Mountain Home, Idaho. Other units are being formed.

The formation of these units was planned a long time ago, and it was the war in the Persian Gulf that accelerated this process. Yet it is not important how these units came to be formed. The question is: Is it fortuitous? Hardly.

Nor is it fortuitous that various measures are being taken to revive the thoroughly tattered SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] program. Here the Pentagon chief is absolutely categorical. "Arguments in favor of SDI," he says, "have probably become even more solid now that we are encountering the possibility that instead of one nuclear power in the Soviet Union there could appear several. The defense of the United States and of our friends and allies abroad against the possibility of a missile attack is an urgent priority for us. We need a strategic defense initiative."

I repeat once more. Perhaps, particularly from the U.S. viewpoint, this is all so. But after all it is no accident that B. Scowcroft warned in Detroit: "The world remains a dangerous place." And it is made dangerous—and this is my view, not Scowcroft's—not only by the complex processes taking place in the USSR but also by the unique reaction to these processes and the steps in the military field that are being undertaken across the ocean. Of course, they are not publicizing these steps there. They are not publicizing them, but they are taking them.

More U.S. Aid, Less Military Spending Proposed

LD1909180791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Excerpts] Speaking after a meeting with Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Washington on Monday, President Bush emphasized the need for a humanitarian package to go forward very soon in order to avert hunger and medical catastrophe in the Soviet Union this coming winter. Vladislav Kozyakov of our staff comments, and this is what he writes:

As this statement shows, the Americans are aware of the seriousness of the current situation in our country. Following the West Europeans, including Germany, which have already provided tens of billions [as heard] of dollars worth of humanitarian and other economic aid to the Soviet Union, it now looks as though the United States too is about to join the campaign. [passage omitted]

Of course, any economic aid would require money. But will it be a burden on the American people? An answer to this question is given by the new situation that has emerged in the world as a result of the changes in the Soviet Union. These changes are so profound that many countries, and probably the United States first of all, can afford to give up a number of costly military programs.

It is a known fact that America's military spending has been oriented to global nuclear deterrents for decades. But does America really need such an orientation of its military budget today? True, the lack of internal stability in the Soviet Union may remain a source of concern in the United States, but all this is incomparable with the nuclear menace that was created by the cold war and nuclear rivalry between the two superpowers.

A number of members of U.S. Congress are rightfully raising the issue of changing priorities in federal budget expenditure and also of abolishing a law by which the administration and Congress agree to rigid limits of spending on foreign internal and military budget articles till 1994. As Senator Paul Simon observed, for the United States there is no sense in preserving the limits set prior to the radical changes in the world.

As American experts have estimated, renouncing military programs launched in the cold war period, such as SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative], B-2 bombers, Seawolf submarines, would make it possible to save more than \$50 billion. This sum is big enough to be spent not only on aid to Soviet reforms but on many social programs the American public has been pressing for for a long time. Probably the Americans can reason like this: By helping reforms in the Soviet Union, we will help ourselves.

Former Officer on KGB Activity in U.S., Abroad

PM2409091591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Oleg Kalugin on KGB Activity in United States"]

[Text] Tokyo, 20 Sep—Oleg Kalugin considers the recruitment in the United States of the agent codenamed "Vodka," who supplied the Soviet Union with priceless information in exchange for \$1 million, to have been one of his biggest professional coups during his decades of work in the KGB. The former KGB staffer, now a USSR people's deputy, announced this in an interview with a correspondent from the Japanese journal, SUNDAY MAINICHI.

According to Kalugin, one of the ways the KGB collected intelligence abroad, including in the United States, where he worked for many years, was paying servicemen for important information. These servicemen included a naval communications officer who supplied the KGB with the codes for the U.S. Navy's planning and communications. The codes gave Soviet agents the possibility of finding out if, for instance, the United States

had decided to use nuclear weapons and to avoid a danger like the Japanese air attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.

Other methods included analyzing published information and listening in on communications lines. Oleg Kalugin noted that for this kind of eavesdropping, being connected to the line directly is not essential. Eavesdropping can also be done with the aid of a special antenna. Thanks to this, the KGB, he said, had the opportunity to know what was being done in the Pentagon and, in part, in the White House.

Oleg Kalugin categorized as fantasy the suggestions that the KGB ever planned the assassination of a U.S. president. We never killed an American, he said. But there were cases of the elimination of KGB agents. Such a case occurred in Germany. He refused to give the exact number of agents in the United States working for the KGB but said that there were "fewer than 100" of them.

He noted that for 74 years the KGB was an organ of the CPSU. It is important that now it will not have political power. Describing Vadim Bakatin, the new leader of the KGB, as a man whom he trusts, Oleg Kalugin thought that the KGB could benefit people, for instance, by gathering information in the interests of the development of industry and the creation of a data bank.

U.S. Demands Iraq Comply With UN Resolutions

LD2309184291 Moscow TASS in English 1804 GMT
23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin]

[Text] Washington September 23 TASS—The White House made it clear today that it considers inadequate the Iraqi response to the demands of full and strict compliance with the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council.

This primarily concerns unhampered activities of international inspections of Iraqi objects, where, as it is suspected, nuclear weapons could be produced or stored.

It seems that a certain defensive military action could be the only way out, U.S. President Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater told correspondents today.

Fitzwater briefly responded to correspondents' questions before the U.S. President's departure from Washington to New York to participate in the U.N. General Assembly session.

On Sunday, the Iraqi representative to the U.N. gave an official answer by President Saddam Husayn to the demands to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council.

The Iraqi response seems to be inadequate, Fitzwater said. He noted they are not optimistic at the present stage. It is quite clear that they should find ways to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council.

President Bush already said last week that he is ready if necessary to send U.S. military aircraft to protect international inspection helicopters on their surveillance flights.

Bush Gives 'Assurances' to Baltic Leaders

PM2309153591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Blinov report: "Meeting in White House"]

[Text] Washington—U.S. President G. Bush received the leaders of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in the White House last Tuesday. V. Landsbergis, A. Gorbunovs, and A. Ruutel arrived in Washington from New York, where they had been discussing the three Baltic republics' requests to be admitted to UN membership.

The meeting, which had not been announced in advance, lasted 30 minutes. Coming out to meet journalists in the White House Rose Garden together with G. Bush, the leaders of the Baltic republics reported the main topic of the meeting was the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from their territories. "We talked about a Soviet troop withdrawal from our territories. For us this is the main question for the immediate future," V. Landsbergis said. According to him, the final date envisaged by Moscow for the withdrawal of troops from the Baltic region—1994—is "totally unacceptable" to the Baltic countries. The withdrawal must be quick, Landsbergis said, referring to the fact that the Soviet troops entered Lithuania over the course of two days in 1940.

A. Gorbunovs called the presence of Soviet military garrisons in the Baltic region "the main destabilizing force," while A. Ruutel called it "a security problem not only for the Baltic region but also for the whole of Europe."

The three Baltic leaders asked G. Bush to support their demand in future Soviet-U.S. talks. G. Bush made no statements to the press on this question, although, as U.S. journalists report, citing participants in that meeting, the head of the administration did give his guests certain assurances.

U.S. Treasury Secretary's Visit Previewed

PM2309144391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[G. Charodeyev report: "U.S. Treasury Secretary in Moscow"]

[Text] U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady arrived in our country on the night of 17-18 September at the invitation of the Soviet Government. U.S. journalists accredited in Moscow have called this visit "sensational," as N. Brady is the personal envoy of President G. Bush, his close friend, and a very influential man in the financial world. In America he is known as "the Wall

Street banker who helped G. Bush during his 1980 election campaign." In addition, he is the most important official in Washington's political hierarchy after the secretary of state.

It is interesting that while at the hearings of a subcommittee of the House Appropriations committee in March 1990, the U.S. treasury secretary declared that the United States would not participate in the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which was being set up, unless restrictions were established on the size of credits for the Soviet Union. "We do not intend to be part of this bank if a considerable proportion of the resources is used for loans to the USSR," N. Brady declared at the time. "We believe that these loans must be granted only to democratic and pluralist societies."

"Well, times are changing, just as the views and operating areas of such experienced and major Western financiers as N. Brady are changing," the USSR State Bank commented on the U.S. treasury secretary's past statements.

During its two-day visit, the U.S. delegation will hold consultations on a whole range of political and economic questions of interest to the leaders of "the seven" countries today. In particular, the sides will discuss the possibility of giving the Soviet Union financial assistance and how much, our country's possible participation in international financial organizations, and also problems of bilateral Soviet-U.S. credit and finance relations.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent has ascertained from sources close to the Union and Russian Foreign Ministries that the U.S. delegation includes more than 50 experts in the financial and banking spheres. They include two U.S. assistant treasury secretaries; this in itself attests to the importance of the visit to Moscow. Weight is also given to the talks by the presence of Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Board of Governors of the U.S. Federal Reserve System (FRS), which fulfills the functions of a central bank (The FRS unites federal reserve and private commercial and savings banks as its members. The federal reserve banks are by their nature the banks' banks. Although it is formally considered that the FRS operates in the interests of the whole state, its activities are directed by representatives of the most influential U.S. financial circles—G.Ch.).

Meetings between N. Brady and USSR President M. Gorbachev, Russian President B. Yeltsin, the leaders of the center, and also plenipotentiary representatives of sovereign republics are planned during his stay. The Treasury secretary has expressed a wish to visit the Russian Commodity and Raw Materials Exchange and the Ministry of Finances. The delegation members will meet with representatives of our country's commercial banks and business circles.

More on Gorbachev's Meeting With Iowa Banker

PM2309121591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "M.S. Gorbachev's Conversations"]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Sep—This morning USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin spoke with John Crystal, a prominent figure in U.S. business circles and a public figure. The guest is the president of the Iowa Agro-Industrial Bank. He founded the "Sov-U.S. Advisory Group" that aims to develop extensive cooperation with the USSR in agriculture. Recently, this firm's representatives signed an agreement in Moscow to supply the USSR with grain processing equipment. It is not only business interests, but also a kind of family tradition that is spurring on the U.S. businessman's endeavor to cooperate with our country. Crystal is the nephew of the well-known farmer Garst [name as transliterated] from Iowa, whose farm Nikita Khrushchev visited during his U.S. tour 30 years ago. John Crystal is developing the traditions that he enshrined. This meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev is the fifth in succession; the first was 10 years ago.

China

Soviet-Chinese Post-Coup Relations Assessed

91UF1185A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 6

[Yuriy Tavrovskiy article: "Our Trade With China Will Not Suffer, Although Barriers To Information Are Likely To Arise"]

[Text] When President Gorbachev returned on 22 August to a Moscow packed with demonstrators storming communist bastions, he might have experienced a feeling of *deja vu*.

Indeed, on 15 May 1989 he flew to Beijing, where even his first steps were like taking a walk during an earthquake. Demonstrators who packed the very wide Chananjie Street, stretching for many kilometers, deprived him of the opportunity to ride solemnly down the main thoroughfare of the capital, which was decorated with Soviet flags for the first time in many years. A million-strong crowd in Tiananmen Square frustrated the holding of the greetings ceremony according to protocol. Meetings with Chinese leaders were unpredictable: Within several hours of meeting with Gorbachev reformer Zhao Ziyang, close to Gorbachev in spirit, was removed from the post of general secretary of the party at a secret plenum of the Central Committee.

Gorbachev weathered that crisis, someone else's crisis, brilliantly—he radiated energy, behaved confidently, smiled, and replaced prepared statements with successful improvisations. Most importantly, he accomplished his historic mission and ultimately normalized

Soviet-Chinese relations, thus eliminating one of the most long-standing problems for national and world security. Even then, Gorbachev "measured" the Beijing events against our reality. Responding to a journalist's question about whether he would have come out to those gathered on Tiananmen had he been a Chinese leader, Gorbachev thought a little and said: "Perhaps I would have..."

A little more than two years elapsed between the Tiananmen events and the cataclysm that shook our country and centered on the Moscow "White House." They have certain things in common, but there are still more differences.

The following is what they had in common: The crisis of an economic and political system becoming an obstacle to progress and leading to tension in society which could not but find an outlet; a lag between "a revolution from the top" and the real needs of society; the indecision of reformers at the upper echelons of power; a gulf between the pace of economic and political transformations; the unexpected determination and sacrifices of young people who were believed to be mired in a "spiritual vacuum" and political apathy; a split in the army and state security into "robotic killers" and knights mindful of the good of the Motherland; the inability of the initiators of events to maintain the necessary dynamics, which made it possible for their adversaries to recover from the initial shock and organize resistance.

The differences are much more numerous and serious. First of all, the events were organized by diametrically opposed forces. Fortunately for us, the outcome of the drama turned out to be different, and martyrs were not counted in thousands. Once again, luckily for us, a popular, determined, and experienced leader with a well-chosen "team," who became a focus for all the supporters of democracy, happened to be present in the political arena. Despite clearly sympathizing with the demonstrators during the events in Tiananmen Square, Chinese General Secretary Zhao Ziyang was in an ambiguous position and maintained contacts with student and worker leaders through his aides, but did not resolve to personally head the headquarters of the democrats, which was clearly unprepared for independence.

A situation that is to a considerable degree new is arising in relations between China and the Soviet Union as a result of the political cataclysms in the two countries which followed each other after a relatively short interval. After all, the normalization of relations in 1989 was dual—it was both interstate and interparty. The leaders of the USSR and the PRC acted simultaneously as the leaders of the CPSU and the Communist Party of China, and "reinforcing the positions of world socialism" was among the most significant objectives of normalization. Following the retirement of the CPSU from the political arena and the renunciation of the "socialist choice," ideological closeness has been lost, and interparty contacts, which kept the party leadership in touch in the capital cities and in the provinces, have been

wound down. Fortunately, a provision on the de-ideologization of bilateral relations is included in Soviet-Chinese documents; however, in 1989 this was conceived rather as a remedy against new arguments over the purity of Marxism-Leninism. Nonetheless, the taking down of the red banner in Moscow will unavoidably influence at least the emotional tonality of Chinese-Soviet relations. For example, Beijing will now hardly be inclined to extend additional credit for saturating the Soviet market with foodstuffs and consumer goods from the PRC with a view to reinforcing the stability of the Moscow regime.

Beyond a doubt, both China and the members of the new Union will strictly adhere to the principles of equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. During the days of the 1989 and 1991 events Moscow and Beijing demonstrated convincingly, through both words and deeds, the intention to strictly adhere to generally accepted norms rather than "principles of proletarian internationalism." Nonetheless, some changes in state-to-state relations are also inescapable, at the very least, because instead of one Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chinese diplomacy will have to deal with both the Union and several republic establishments. Negotiations on the specific designation of the Western segment of the PRC border, where the lands of Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and Tajikistan lie, will become more complicated. The historical experience of relations between the Central Asian peoples and the Middle State, which is far from serene, may inject additional nuances into the process of delineating borders, which is sensitive to begin with.

The recent events will perhaps affect commercial and economic relations the least. Trade may even pick up if restrictions on barter trade and clearing settlements introduced by the former Soviet government are canceled. However, the interests of Chinese provinces, which are becoming increasingly independent of Beijing, in selling consumer goods, which are running into Western customs barriers, and in receiving Soviet raw materials, and the striving of ministries and large enterprises for direct relations with partners in the USSR are too strong to be set back by political decisions. The Soviet side's interest in trading with China is beyond a doubt.

There is no reason to expect that military contacts, which are quite important for both sides, will be wound down. Deliveries of Soviet materiel, which incidentally were not interrupted even in the years of "cold war" between Moscow and Beijing, are capable not only of improving the Soviet Union's trade balance with China but also of reinforcing the quite recent feelings of mutual confidence between the largest armed forces of the world.

Actual difficulties will most likely develop in cultural exchanges and in the dissemination of information on events in the USSR. Ideologists from Beijing watched the "degeneration" of their Northern neighbor with growing suspicion to begin with, viewing everything that

is usually meant by the term "glasnost" as a manifestation of "bourgeois liberalism" and a component of Western efforts to get rid of socialism by the method of "peaceful evolution." As the extremely scant coverage of the events of the past two weeks indicates, control over the Chinese mass media will become even stricter; the writings of Chinese correspondents in Moscow will be published primarily in classified bulletins "for the bosses."

There are sufficient grounds to hope that fundamental geopolitical changes in the USSR will not bring about an actual reduction in the volume or deterioration in the quality of our relations with the PRC. However, for this to be the case all sides should display particular restraint and tactfulness and strictly observe the norms of international law during this difficult period of transition.

PRC Air Force Group To View Training Program

OW1909081791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 0200 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] A Chinese military delegation is currently visiting the Soviet Union. The delegation is led by Yu Zhenwu, deputy commander of the Air Force of the People's Liberation Army.

According to its plan, the delegation will look at the way the Soviet Union trains its Air Force personnel and discuss issues pertaining to the training of Chinese experts by Soviet Air Force academies. The Chinese delegation will also inspect Soviet military technology.

Northeast Asia

Khasbulatov Views 'Territories' Issue With Japan

LD2409100191 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Zenkovich]

[Text] Moscow September 24 (TASS)— "The centre of bilateral political relations with Japan has shifted from the Union to Russia", Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting president of the Russian Federation Supreme Council, told TASS.

Asked about the destiny of the so-called "Northern Territories" of Japan—four disputed islands in the Kuriles, Khasbulatov said: "One should proceed from the view that Japanese-Russian relations will no longer be those between the victors and the vanquished, but will be based on international law, mutual interests and prospects for long-term cooperation. This should be realised by everyone, including inhabitants of the Kuriles".

"Not a single politician in Russia or the Soviet Union can say he is ready to surrender the islands tomorrow.

Public opinion does not accept this approach", Khasbulatov believes. He said it is necessary to choose a tactic for dealing with public opinion.

"First, it is necessary to establish relations between Russia and Japan and then to deal with problems of the 'northern territories'", Khasbulatov said. Russian and Japanese leaders have considered the opportunity of visa-free travel across the border for Japanese and inhabitants of the Kurile Islands, Khasbulatov said.

And although Khasbulatov does not link the political solution of the "northern territories" problem with economic cooperation, he asked the Japanese leadership to grant Russia an emergency aid of 8-15 billion dollars.

Islanders Issue Appeal, Vow To Defend Kuriles

PM2409094191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Sep 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Islands Need Protection"]

[Text] Members of the Shpanberg Society, named for the discoverer of Shikotan, and the collective of "Ostrovnoy," the country's largest fisheries combine, have issued an appeal to the peoples of Russia. "It is not possible to amputate the Kuriles—a unique and very rich corner of the Russia," the document says. "The country could considerably diminish its fish stocks. The islands contain deposits of gold and precious and semiprecious stones and a bountiful shelf zone. With the transfer of the islands to Japan the Sea of Okhotsk will turn from home waters into open sea." The Kuril inhabitants, the appeal stresses, will defend the islands in the same way as the Muscovites defended their White House.

Commentary on UN Admission of North, South Korea

SK2309140791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Report by station reporter (Konstantin Delov) from Pyongyang; from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] In a statement issued on 18 September, the DPRK Foreign Ministry thanked the world community for having recognized the sovereignty and dignity of the DPRK and for having accepted it as a full-fledged member of the United Nations in the 46th session of the General Assembly. Pyongyang has promised to respect the United Nations charter and take an active part in the activities of the organization.

Also in Seoul, Choe Chang-yun, minister of information, released a statement to that effect. The ROK statement paid special attention to the fact that the two Korean states had been admitted into the United Nations simultaneously.

Since Korea was divided, the two countries have applied for UN membership seven times. Their applications so far had been rejected by either the Soviet Union or the

United States, because they were the countries that had been exercising veto power in the UN Security Council.

Lately, the ROK has actively called for its UN admission. Up until recently, the DPRK had maintained that (?a simultaneous admission of the North and South into the United Nations) would perpetuate the division of the peninsula into two states. Pyongyang had been insisting that the two sides be admitted into the United Nations with a single seat after the country had achieved reunification.

Toward the end of last May, however, Pyongyang suddenly changed its opinion. This was a new line adopted only a few days after Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, made a visit to Pyongyang.

Even after this, Pyongyang has been stressing that the major policy of the republic's government is still to achieve national reunification through the founding of a confederal republic called Koryo, the only state capable of uniting the two governments within the framework of two systems.

Pyongyang has expressed its hope that the United Nations will make contribution to a fair settlement of the Korean question, as a matter of course. The statement issued in Seoul, too, commented that the simultaneous admission of the North and South into the United Nations as [word indistinct] before the reunification of the Korean people, the only divided people in the world.

(?West Germany and East Germany, which became UN members in 1973) had to wait for 17 years [as heard] before they were completely reunified.

If Pyongyang and Seoul assume constructive cooperation aimed at reunifying the Korean people within the framework of the United Nations as the first order of business, it is possible that they will promote such a process.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Malaysian Defense Minister Arrives, Meets Lobov

LD2209154691 Moscow TASS in English
1507 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasilii Titov]

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—Malaysian Defence Minister Abdul Razak Mohamed Najib on Sunday arrived in Moscow on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Defence Ministry.

At the airport, he was met by Vladimir Lobov, chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, and other officials.

Discusses Cooperation

LD2309184891 Moscow TASS in English
1821 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Oleg Moskovsky and Vasilii Titov]

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—Army General Vladimir Lobov, the head of the Soviet Armed Forces general headquarters, today met Malaysian Defence Minister Mohammad Najib Abdul Razak, currently on an official visit to the Soviet Union.

The Malaysian minister was informed on the major directions of the military reform underway in the Soviet Armed Forces and on the approaches of the Soviet military command to the evaluation of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

The sides also outlined main areas of possible military cooperation between the Soviet Union and Malaysia.

Cooperation in the military sphere is new to us, Mohammad Najib told correspondents upon the completion of the negotiations.

However, the minister is optimistic about prospects for this cooperation. Today the sides agreed on essential matters. The content of this interaction will be specified during further contacts at the expert level.

The most important is that a good start was made today, he said.

This afternoon, the minister laid a wreath to the unknown soldier tomb at the Kremlin wall, visited the Zvezdny town and acquainted himself with the teaching process at the academy of the Soviet Armed Forces general headquarters.

Near East & South Asia

Commentary on Palestine National Council Session

LD2409042791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1930 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Igor Surguchev commentary]

[Text] A routine session of the Palestine National Council, the Palestinian parliament in exile, opened in Algiers today. More than 400 delegates gathered in the Algerian capital to take part in the session, representing various Palestinian organizations and groups operating both in the Israeli-occupied Palestinian territory and beyond. They are to hear a report from 'Arafat, leader of the PLO, on the progress in implementing decisions adopted by the previous session, and to elect a new PLO executive committee. But the main item on the agenda of the Algiers forum is to determine the Palestinians' stance on participation in the international Mideast peace conference planned for October. A Mayak commentary. At the microphone is Igor Surguchev:

[Surguchev] As you know, the PLO leadership has already given its agreement in principle to representation of the Palestinians at the Mideast conference, but it put up a number of preconditions. 'Arafat insists that the Palestinian delegation should include members of the PLO, and a minimum of one representative from East Jerusalem. He also demands that even before the conference is convened, Israel must give a pledge to halt the construction of Jewish settlements on the West Bank of the river Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. The PLO leader expects the United States, the main organizer and one of the cochairmen of the future Mideast conference, to provide relevant guarantees for these conditions to be met.

It looks however, as if there is a difficulty with the guarantees, and in his recent statements 'Arafat has not concealed his disappointment at the Americans' efforts to organize the first direct Arab-Israeli talks in history—unless, of course, you count the Egyptian-Israeli ones, which were of a separate nature. And so it is expected that the very question of Palestinian participation in the planned Mideast peace forum will become a matter of hot debate. Observers are predicting a sharp struggle between the so-called moderates—that is, the supporters of 'Arafat—and the radicals, who reject Palestinian participation in the Mideast conference. Leadership among the latter is ascribed to Habash, who heads the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and Hawatimah, leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. They reckon that if the above conditions are not met, then there is no point to Palestinian participation in the conference, which would mean virtual capitulation to Israel. The moderates, meanwhile, say that refusal to attend would mean political suicide for the Palestinian resistance movement, which three years ago proclaimed the priority of political means of struggle for the triumph of the Palestinian cause. 'Arafat's supporters also point out that by refusing to send their representatives to the conference, the Palestinians could be blamed for undermining the Soviet-U.S. Mideast peace initiative altogether.

It is difficult to say whose position will prevail at the session of the Palestine National Council. One would like to believe that common sense and a compromise approach will be victorious. For what the radicals are suggesting is a road leading nowhere—or rather, leading back to armed struggle. Such a prospect can hardly inspire the Palestinian parliament. As REUTERS reports, 'Arafat's adviser Abu-Sharif said before the opening of the session: We must be realists, and recognize that the time for armed struggle is past.

USSR-U.S. Afghan Arms Agreement, Assessments

Opposition 'Implacably Divided'

LD2309142191 Moscow TASS in English
1302 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Shishkov]

[Text] Kabul September 23 TASS—The Soviet Union and the United States may have agreed to stop arms supplies to warring factions in Afghanistan and a settlement here may be a little closer, but the Afghan opposition is divided as implacably as before.

Clashes between armed groups belonging to rival opposition parties in Baghlan, Konduz, Badghis, Ghowr, Vardak and Jowzjan Provinces last week alone left more than 70 people killed or injured.

Regular Army units, in the meantime, inflicted further serious casualties on the opposition in combing-up operations in Badghis, Zabol, Herat, Nangarhar and Konduz Provinces, destroying several fortified positions and two truckfuls of ammunition. In addition, the troops seized over 130 rockets, more than 380 mines and grenades, some 350 shells and several thousand rounds of ammunition.

Meanwhile, almost 200 more Afghan refugees returned to Konduz, Nangarhar and Qandahar Provinces from Iran and Pakistan in the past few days, BAKHTAR news agency reported.

'Negative Symmetry' in Forces Noted

PM2409104591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 24 Sep 91 First Edition p 3

[Article by TASS observer Yuriy Tyssovskiy for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "Moscow and Washington Have Agreed. Will Afghans Agree Among Themselves?"]

[Text] It cannot be said that this turn in the Afghan situation was a complete surprise. Nevertheless, political observers viewed the demarche of USSR Foreign Minister B.N. Pankin and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker like a thunder clap on a clear day. Journalists interpreted it as sensational news. The joint Soviet-U.S. statement on Afghanistan published in Moscow provided, in particular, for the ending of all supplies of Soviet and U.S. weapons to the opposing sides as of 1 January next year.

The West assesses Soviet military and material aid to Kabul at \$4 billion a year. That is of course an exaggeration, and a substantial one— If only because the majority of the equipment supplied to Afghanistan is not new and many tanks and aircraft, like the notorious "Scud" operational-tactical missiles, were paid for long ago by the taxpayer, and under the conditions of the reduction of arms in the USSR, are to be written off. On the material plane our aid is rendered not only to Kabul but also to Afghanistan in general on the basis of the intergovernment agreements concluded in September 1988 and also through UN channels. That is the fulfillment of our moral duty to a country in which we caused enough trouble for nine years.

As for Washington's supply of weapons and other aid to the "intransigents" leaders based in Peshawar, it is implemented in close collaboration with Islamabad, as well as Riyadh and some other Arab capitals. That is why

it is important that not only the United States but also other sources of the "leakage" of weapons into Afghan territory be closed. Taking into account the "porosity" of the Pakistani-Afghan border, which promotes this leakage, I personally am extremely pessimistic in this respect.

During recent visits to Iran and Saudi Arabia, UN Secretary General J. P. de Cuellar paid a great deal of attention to the Afghan problem and, it seems, achieved the agreement of the leadership of those countries to end arms deliveries to the mujahedin. Tehran, incidentally, had earlier reduced the arming of its clients to a minimum, if not completely stopped it. These states' reaction to the Soviet-U.S. document was positive. I recall that Afghan President Najibullah also welcomed it.

The Soviet-U.S. accord was also assessed positively by the Peshawar leaders—but for completely different reasons. G. Hekmatyar, B. Rabbani, Y. Khalis, and others saw in it merely a factor in the erosion of the combat readiness of the Afghan army, opening up the prospect of coming to power by military means. With one voice they opposed the cease-fire and a start to negotiations proposed by Najibullah, and moreover openly stated their intention to intensify the course of hostilities "on all fronts." The unconstructive nature of this approach attests that the bloodshed in Afghanistan will be continued.

After the Soviet-U.S. demarche, some political observers in the West are already prepared to consign the Kabul regime to the archives of history. Is that not premature? Its "inexorable" fall was predicted just as zealously during the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989. This "analysis" failed to consider many very important factors which, I must admit in fairness to the phony prophets, did not lie on the surface but were of a rather latent nature. These factors operate to this day and, moreover, new ones have been added to them. The Afghan Army consists of the same Pushtus, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmen, and Hazara who make up the mujahedin detachments. They also know how to fight, but are immeasurably better organized and trained. The Fatherland Party has recently expanded its sphere of influence in society and it undoubtedly comprises a very large political force in the country. The policy of national conciliation pursued by the Afghan leadership continues to bring very substantial dividends.

My talks in Kabul with Pakistani journalists well briefed on Afghan affairs, and the military correspondents of Western newspapers, confirmed this viewpoint: that the "negative symmetry", in the short-term, will not cause any notable damage to the Afghan Armed Forces. And in the long term? Here too the picture is clear. If armed resistance continues even after 1 January 1992, then Kabul has at its service the free weapons markets, including those in Pakistan, which that country's government cannot control, as has been shown in the past. There are other sources and money for this will always be found. Only one thing is frightening: The mujahedin

leaders financed a substantial portion of their arms through the drug trade. The Afghan leadership—and this is known for certain—refrains from such criminal activity. If someone from the provincial authorities, having found themselves in a complex financial position, decided to take this step, this would lead to a real growth in the contraband of the "white poison," with all its consequences for the West and for us, too, after all we have a common border.

In conclusion, about the fate of the Afghan president: I assess him as the most influential, flexible, and perspicacious politician in the entire country, compared with whom the opposition leaders—both in Peshawar and in Afghanistan—look somewhat parochial. I am fully convinced that if the of a conclusive settlement of the conflict gets stuck because of him, he will go. The point is that the mujahedin are not only refusing to deal with him, their aim is the elimination and, many people suspect, the physical elimination, of all supporters of the Kabul regime, and there are millions of them. Let readers themselves judge the consequences.

'Bloodshed Will Doubtless Continue'

91UF1186A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 5

[Article by V. Skosyrev: "Bayonet in the Ground? Soviet-American Agreement Gives Afghanistan a Chance]

[Text] Our press and television have still given scandalously little attention to the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States to halt the delivery of weapons to Afghanistan by the end of this year. Meanwhile, the accord reached in negotiations in Moscow between B. Pankin and G. Baker was completely compatible in meaning with the conclusion of the Geneva agreements in 1988, which cleared the way for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

How does one explain the lack of special interest in an event on which just a year or two ago the mass media would not have restricted either space or air time. It seems that, first, the war in Afghanistan lost the element of drama in the eyes of the reader after so many hot spots emerged in our own country. There is also a second factor. The Moscow and Washington accord not to arm their clients starting in 1992 still does not guarantee that the Afghans will stick their bayonets into the ground. On the contrary, considering that mujahedin leaders G. Hekmatyar and B. Rabbani rejected Kabul's armistice proposal from the outset, it can be predicted that the bloodshed will doubtless continue.

The real question is how long it will continue and how viable the government in Kabul will prove to be. After all, only the USSR and the United States are participants in the agreement, but the Afghan opposition is also being armed by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, and possibly several other states. Consequently, the outlook is that Kabul is falling into an unequal position; if one recalls

that it was not long ago that the minister of defense tried to incite a rebellion against Najibollah, one automatically wonders whether other generals will maintain their loyalty to the president under the new conditions.

However, the enemies of Kabul also present an unenviable picture. On the one hand, there is G. Hikmatyar, the leader of the Islamic fundamentalists, who does not want to share influence either with the ex-king of Afghanistan, who is in exile, nor with the tribal leaders of the Pushtus. On the other hand, there are the field commanders who do not recognize the authority of the "transitional government," which is hiding on Pakistan territory. At the same time, the participants of the "transitional government" themselves do not get along with each other and with the Muslim Shi'ites, whose benefactor is Iran.

In a word, besides the big conflict between the pro-Soviet regime of Najibollah and the mujahedin, the state is torn by tribal, religious, and local conflicts. It follows from this that the internal Afghan crisis yields with difficulty to settlement from outside and that the capabilities of Washington and Moscow are not unlimited. However, they also should not be underestimated.

For example, the Soviet-American statement issued in Moscow contains an appeal to all other states to stop delivery of weapons to Afghanistan. It can be expected that after the United States sets an example its allies will also reduce military assistance. In any case, this concerns Saudi Arabia, whose role consisted of financing the deliveries, the material-technical part of which was performed by the Americans.

Islamabad is inclined otherwise. It "greeted in principle" the Soviet-American agreement. But at the same time, it refused to assume the obligation of stopping the delivery of weapons. It is not difficult to guess why. The Pakistani generals long ago bet on the overthrow of Najibollah and replacing his regime with Islamic radicals. It is not without reason that the dictator Ziaul Haq (now deceased) expressed his innermost dream: to create a federation between Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is also not without reason that Pakistani intelligence was able to channel the lion's share of American aid to detachments of G. Hikmatyar.

If Islamabad wants to take advantage of the moment and intensify interference in Afghan affairs, then, I think, India will find itself in a very unfavorable position. After all, a victory of the mujahedin would inevitably give rise to new enthusiasm for a revolt of the Muslims in Indian Kashmir, in whose incitement the Pakistanis had a hand.

To prevent such an outcome, India will possibly attempt to replace the USSR in the role of deliverer of weapons to Kabul.

One would like to hope that this gloomy scenario will not become a reality, and that the method of political settlement set forth in the Soviet-American statement will triumph. Moscow and Washington propose, with the assistance of the United Nations and concerned states, to

establish an impartial mechanism for the conduct of elections, and the formation of a government that the country would trust. A similar model has been tested in Nicaragua and Namibia. Why not start it up in Afghanistan?

Of course, the path to fair elections is incredibly difficult. Nevertheless, the appeal from Moscow should be heeded by all participants in the conflict. Afghanistan has suffered too much to miss what is perhaps the last chance to put an end to the bloody chaos.

New Envoy to India; Kidnapped Specialist Alive

OW2309220391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1919 GMT 23 Sep 91

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] was informed by the Southern Asian Countries Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the new Soviet ambassador has arrived in India. Anatoliy Dryukov, the new ambassador, was formerly head of personnel and teaching institutes of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. He replaces Victor Isakov as ambassador, who, according to unconfirmed reports, has been made a pensioner. V. Isakov was Soviet ambassador to India from October 1988.

V. Isakov's retirement and the naming of A. Dryukov should not be seen in any way as linked with the consequences of the putsch, since this decision was taken before the August events in Moscow. At the same time, the putsch slightly delayed A. Dryukov's departure to Delhi. His candidature was carefully reviewed and presented to Boris Pankin, the new Soviet Foreign Minister, for confirmation by the country's State Council.

The Soviet people's deputies Iren Andreeva, vice-president of the Soviet Designers Society, and Evgeniy Maltsev, chairman of the St Petersburg Artists' and Sculptors' Society, became the first Soviet deputies to be present as observers at the Commonwealth conference currently being held in Delhi. The people's deputies were formally invited to Delhi by Mr Patil, speaker of the Indian parliament. But the invitation, as underlined in the Southern Asian Countries Department at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, was agreed upon in coordination with London, where the Commonwealth headquarters are located. We view this invitation, it was noted in the Southern Asian Countries Department, as support for democratic reforms in the USSR by the Commonwealth countries, and a desire to develop links along parliamentary lines.

The announcement by the mass media that the Indian Special Services have new information on the fate of Sergey Grishchenko, the Soviet specialist, was "totally unexpected" for the Southern Asian Countries Section of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. According to this information, S. Grishchenko is alive. One of the heads of the

Southern Asian Countries Section told a "DP" correspondent that the Soviet Foreign Ministry has contacted the Soviet embassy in Delhi and is awaiting confirmation or denial of this announcement. While working under contract in the Indian state of Assam, S. Grishchenko was kidnapped at the beginning of July by the extremist organization Assam Liberation United Front (ALUF). ALUF members confirmed that a few days after the kidnapping the Soviet specialist was killed after an attempt to escape. Searches by the Indian government, with which the Soviet Foreign ministry and Soviet representatives quickly collaborated, have not given any positive results. The ALUF operates in the practically inaccessible mountain regions of the state of Assam.

East Europe

Gorbachev Urges SFRY Officials To End Bloodshed

LD2309210191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2000 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has sent messages to the president of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, and the Federal secretary for national defence, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic, inviting them to do everything possible to put a stop to bloodshed in Yugoslavia.

A statement to this effect was made to the press by Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, who had today conferred for two hours with the Soviet head of state.

Gorbachev and Andreotti discussed Italy's financial support for the Soviet Union. Andreotti did not specify to the press the actual amount of the Italian aid, but informed sources speak of four billion dollars in credits under favourable conditions.

Foreign Ministry Official on Yugoslav Situation

OW2309204191 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1919 GMT 23 Sep 91

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] While the 46th session of the UN General Assembly is under way, with the centre of international political life having been shifted to New York, a solution to "the Yugoslavian problem" may be found there. This assumption was made during a discussion with a correspondent from "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] by an executive official from the Third European Department (3 ED) of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. He pointed out that the intensive talks in New York concerning Yugoslavia also concerned the Security Council. The Soviet Union is taking an active part in them. The consultations are still of an informal nature, but this does not mean that they will not come up with a conclusive and concrete solution.

According to one diplomat, the most diverse ideas are being proposed. He believes that the struggling Yugoslavian side with its appeal to prevent the bloodshed and stop the armed conflict, deserves the attention of the Security Council.

The diplomat described the situation as "very delicate". He explained that the conflict in Yugoslavia had an internal nature, while the prerogative of the UN Security Council is to address questions, including conflicts, on an international plane. It is important to find a proposal that will settle everything.

Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that the crisis in Yugoslavia influences the situation in the Balkans, and the flow of Yugoslavian refugees many of which have already poured into Italy and Hungary. The sphere of internal Yugoslavian conflict is beginning to grow into an international one. In the same way that, at the start of this century, the situation in the Balkans, particularly in Yugoslavia, threatened the peace and stability in Europe, so the Balkans are once again turning into an explosive area. The Soviet Union and many European countries, especially those in Eastern and Central Europe, realise this danger. According to the official from the Soviet Foreign Ministry, this is all part of the discussion about the Yugoslavian problem and is within the framework of the UN.

Envoy Asks CSFR To Freeze All CPSU Assets

LD2309170891 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio
Network in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] A Soviet ambassador's envoy in the CSFR handed a request to the Federal Foreign Ministry to freeze all CPSU assets deposited in our banks, organizations, and offices. The request proceeds from the Russian president's decree and concerns all kinds of assets.

Polish Opinion Poll on Soviet Troops Cited

LD2009035791 Moscow TASS in English
1608 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Babenko]

[Text] Warsaw September 19 TASS—According to a recent opinion poll, 54 per cent of those questioned do not see Soviet troops in Poland as a threat to its independence or sovereignty. This poll was carried out by the Public Opinion Survey Centre in September. However, 34 per cent of respondents have the opposite opinion.

Respondents were divided over their assessment of the efficiency of the Polish Government regarding Soviet troop withdrawal from Poland. Thus, 41 per cent of the poll believe the government is too cautious in dealing with the problem, while 43 per cent are satisfied with its actions.

53 per cent of those polled approved of the government's foreign policy. One fifth believe it has serious drawbacks, while a quarter has no definite opinion on the matter.

Half the poll believe the international situation is favourable for peace and detente. 37 per cent of the poll have the opposite opinion.

It should be noted that 69 per cent of the respondents believe there is no military threat to Poland at present while 18 per cent of the poll believe that there is.

Deal Signed To Import Polish Foodstuffs

LD2109224391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] [Video shows caption: "Poland;" then camera shows potatoes being unloaded from a truck; Luzhkov signing a document, then drinking a toast]

[Correspondent Y. Ulyanov] Our country will import 600,000 tonnes of potatoes from Poland this year. A contract under which potatoes will be imported in return for 1.5 million cubic meters of gas [not further specified] was signed in Warsaw today by Yuriy Luzhkov, deputy head of the Committee for Management of the USSR's National Economy, and Leszek Balcerowicz, Deputy Chairman of the Government of the Republic of Poland. When expressed in terms of hard currency the Polish potatoes will cost us \$70 a tonne. But can our peasants really not provide the country with potatoes for this sort of money—this works out at 2,000 rubles a tonne.

[G.A. Kulik, member of the Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy] We do produce a sufficient quantity of potatoes. But, in the first place, the potato-producing areas are not located where the potatoes are needed most. We are worried about supplies to the industrial centers of Moscow and Leningrad. So, we are doing this as a kind of extra insurance.

[Ulyanov] Contracts for the supply of 50,000 tonnes of apples and 20,000 tonnes of onions from Poland were also signed today. [Video shows apples being picked]

West Europe

Italy's Andreotti Holds Consultations in Moscow

Discusses Aid With Gorbachev

LD2309174391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Talks were held in Moscow today between Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR, and Giulio Andreotti, chairman of the Italian Republic's Council of Ministers, at the Kremlin's Yekaterininskiy Hall.

At an encounter with journalists today, Andreotti, chairman of Italy's Council of Ministers, commented on

the results of his brief visit to Moscow. May we remind you that during the visit there was an almost two-hour talk between USSR President Gorbachev and Andreotti. Also taking part in the meeting was Silayev, chairman of the inter-republican economic committee.

Concerning issues of aid for the Soviet Union, the Italian prime minister spoke at the news conference in favor of implementing this in the form of investment in the industrial sphere and in the production of consumer goods. The visitor departs Moscow this evening.

Gorbachev Describes Coup Events

LD2309200791 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti had a substantive meeting today which was marked by characteristic warmth and understanding.

Welcoming the guest, Gorbachev cordially thanked him on his behalf and on behalf of the entire Soviet leadership for the clear-cut position during dramatic August days.

Then the Soviet leader briefed in detail the interlocutor on developments in the USSR before and after the bungled state coup, the lessons that are being drawn from the latest events. The main conclusion is that reform should be advanced resolutely, the old structures of the totalitarian system be dismantled, while strengthening the unity of democratic forces and newly-emerging organisations and movements.

Gorbachev told Andreotti how in cooperation with Boris Yeltsin and leaders of other republics, work is being done on the new draft of the Union Treaty, the economic treaty between Republics, and other important documents, designed to give fresh impetus to perestroika on a sound basis. There are quite a few difficulties, but they can be sorted out provided the situation is considered in a sober way.

Andreotti reaffirmed his complete solidarity with perestroika and support for the Soviet president's activity, saying that Western countries were now duty-bound to render Soviet people as much assistance as possible, primarily in the deliveries of food, medicine, consumer goods and with regard to long-term cooperation in transforming the Soviet economy. In this context specific issues of Soviet-Italian cooperation that acquires an ever wider and dynamic nature were raised.

The two men also discussed international issues. Gorbachev and Andreotti took note of the proximity of positions with regard to the continuation of the disarmament process, including nuclear disarmament, approaches to tackling a nuclear weapons problem, as well as terminating nuclear tests as a step towards complete destruction of nuclear weapons.

Gorbachev said the USSR Supreme Soviet went down to work on ratification of the Vienna treaty on reduction of conventional weapons and Soviet-U.S. treaty on strategic offensive weapons.

The proximity of positions was also reaffirmed on issues pertaining to ways to settle the crisis in Yugoslavia while retaining interaction and accord between individual republics. The sides have practically identical views on the convocation of a Middle East peace conference, which has never been so real before.

Gorbachev and Andreotti have agreed on further interaction and maintenance of permanent contacts.

Talks With Gorbachev on World Issues

OW2309203391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1919 GMT 23 Sep 91

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The West has now come to understand better the dimensions of the Soviet Union's crisis. This view, according to information received by the DP [Diplomatic Panorama] from the press-service of Soviet president, has been expressed by Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti during today's working meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow. This meeting showed that the West is now increasingly aware of the necessity to step up support of the reform effort in the Soviet Union, and in particular would like to see the Soviet Union join the IMF at an early date. According to Soviet president's press-service, Mr Carli, Italian Finance Minister, is coming to Moscow next week to sort out the practical matters involved in this.

The press-service said that the West is nonetheless concerned about the absence of a single centre of authority the Soviet Union, supports a cohesive union state and is hoping such a state will be preserved in some form or another.

Another issue that figured prominently at the meeting between Mr Gorbachev and Mr Andreotti was international security. The Italian Prime Minister wondered about the effect that republican sovereignty would have on the international obligations of former USSR. This led Mr Gorbachev to give his assurances that all of them would be strictly observed and that international treaties would be submitted to the country's new Supreme Council for ratification. According to one of Soviet president's spokesmen, Mr Gorbachev had also assured Mr Andreotti that the Soviet Union would continue to work actively to advance the disarmament process and would be coming out with initiatives in this field. He had been hopeful that the West and NATO in particular would not, for their part, be lagging behind.

Among the other problems that had come up at the meeting were the situation in Yugoslavia and in the Middle East, the spokesman said. According to him, the

Soviet Union and Italy had reiterated their willingness to coordinate their efforts to put an end to the Yugoslav crisis. Similarly, "no differences" had emerged when the issue of the Middle East was discussed, with both parties calling for an early peace conference and committing themselves to doing everything toward this end.

Holds Economic Talks With Silayev

LD2309192791 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Video report by correspondent Aleksandr Melnikov on meeting between USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and Italian President Giulio Andreotti in Yekaterininskiy Hall of the Kremlin and Andreotti news conference—from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] A one-day visit to our country by Giulio Andreotti, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic, has ended.

[Melnikov] This morning the head of the Italian Government met with USSR President Gorbachev in the Yekaterininskiy Hall of the Kremlin. A two-hour conversation took place, in the course of which Andreotti said that on 7 November, a conference of the leaders of the NATO countries will be held in Rome which will discuss the issue of abolishing tactical nuclear missiles and the possibility of concluding a treaty on ceasing nuclear weapon tests.

The interlocutors paid great attention to the events of August this year which led to a new arrangement of the political forces, not only in our country but throughout the world. Silayev, chairman of the Interrepublican Economic Committee, took part in the conversation. Today a meeting should also have taken place between the Italian prime minister and RSFSR President Yeltsin, but for unknown reasons this did not occur. Nevertheless, he received a special message from Yeltsin sent from Zheleznovodsk. Before his flight home Giulio Andreotti held a news conference where he summed up the results of his visit. Speaking of the prospects for our bilateral cooperation, he said that at the present time the fate of many programs worked out earlier will largely depend on precise cooperation between the center and the republics. Assessing the political situation in the USSR, the head of the Italian Government noted that our country had behind it an ever persistent nomenclatura and habits that have taken root. The most important thing at the present time, he stressed, is to change the way of thinking. This evening Giulio Andreotti departed from Moscow. [Video shows Andreotti meeting Gorbachev and Andreotti giving news conference].

Meets With Russia's Kozyrev

LD2309201491 Moscow TASS in English
1920 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—Visiting Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti today met Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

They discussed Russian-Italian relations.

Andreotti confirmed an invitation to Russian President Boris Yeltsin to visit Italy. On the Russian president's instruction, the invitation was accepted. The date for the official visit will be agreed upon via diplomatic channels. It is expected to take place at the end of 1991 or the beginning of 1992.

Gives News Conference

AU2409120291 Rome ANSA in English
1027 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 September (ANSA)—Italian Treasury Minister Guido Carli will visit Moscow on 29 September to examine how Italian economic cooperation programmes already decided should be structured, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti told his press conference here after meeting Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Elaborating on the talks, Andreotti confirmed his impression that the "new Soviet Union" is moving towards a "turning-point" on short and very short-range tactical nuclear weapons. "I would say that is the case," he told one reporter, "I was informed very clearly of their determination to rid themselves of these arms."

Diplomatic sources said it was no coincidence if Gorbachev entrusted the message to Andreotti. The Italian premier will in fact be in the chair for the NATO summit in Rome on November 7-8 at which the alliance's heads of state and government will have to decide on a new overall NATO strategy to follow the end of the two blocs.

The same sources said that what Andreotti heard from Gorbachev was what the Chinese leaders and the leaders in other Western capitals wanted to hear from him, especially as regards the central government's control over the Soviet nuclear weapons and defence affairs and the future of disarmament.

The same point was confirmed when Andreotti met Yeltsin's envoy, the Russian Federation's Foreign Minister Mikha'il Kozyrev after his three hours with Gorbachev—two of talks and one of talks over lunch. Filling in for Yeltsin who was kept in Yerevan by his mediation in the Azeri-Armenian crisis, Kozyrev confirmed that Soviet foreign policy will be "common and unitary. No fragmentation can be hypothesised."

Analysts said that the ratification debate and vote in the Supreme Soviet will be decisive for the choices NATO makes on its role in the "post-cold war" world.

According to Andreotti, Gorbachev said he expects the parliament not only to confirm present arms reduction policy, but also to "do something extra on the specific terrain of short and very short-range nuclear arms."

The Italian premier added that there are currently two approaches for these weapons: "One is that the Soviet Union and the other countries should destroy these arms

unilaterally as some NATO countries want, and the second, which the Soviet Union supports, is that an agreement should be sought by negotiation."

Andreotti also clarified that, as a signal of goodwill, Gorbachev suggested "more extensive joint studies involving everyone" on the suspension of all nuclear testing.

Italian Defense Minister Rognoni Visits Moscow

PM2309105391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 18 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] On 16 September Italian Defense Minister V. Rognoni arrived in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of Marshal of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, USSR defense minister.

The guest was met at Sheremetyevo Airport by Marshal of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov; Colonel General V.M. Semenov, USSR deputy defense minister; and other officials.

The welcoming party included F. Salleo, Italian ambassador to the USSR; and Brigadier General G. Santillo, defense attache at the Italian Embassy in the USSR.

A meeting took place on the same day between Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov and Rognoni. During their conversation they discussed questions of Soviet-Italian cooperation, including cooperation in the military sphere. The sides stressed the need to strengthen contacts and links between the two countries' Armed Forces at various levels.

A Joint Statement on Creating the "Military Memorials" International Association of Military Memorial Cooperation was signed.

On 17 September Italian Defense Minister Rognoni laid a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall. The guest from Italy visited the Air Force garrison at Kubinka, where he inspected aircraft and watched demonstration flights.

In the afternoon Rognoni visited the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy. He was briefed on the organization of the training process and the classroom and laboratory facilities there and addressed professors, lecturers, and students.

Interviewed on Impressions of USSR

PM2309121791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 21 Sep 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Italian Defense Minister Virginio Rognoni by correspondent Major M. Zhiglov; date and place not given: "The West Is Seriously Concerned, Italian Defense Minister Virginio Rognoni Stressed in Talk With KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Correspondent"]

[Text] [Zheglov] Mr. Minister, what interested you most of all in the USSR and did you receive satisfactory answers to your questions?

[Rognoni] I was interested to learn from the lips of the participants in the events themselves of those unusual August days. From the defense minister, my counterpart Shaposhnikov, I heard a very detailed description of the coup and the resistance to the putsch. In addition I was interested in what the Soviet Armed Forces might be like tomorrow, when the new structure of the Union is established and relations are set up between the Union and the republics.

In the West there is also great concern as to whether the powerful military nuclear potential of a big country like the Soviet Union will remain under the center's control. To these questions I received answers which give me grounds for believing that the Soviet leadership is resolutely inclined to retain unity with the most careful observance of and respect for the republics' independence.

There are certain spheres, and they include foreign policy, of course, and also security policy, which it is better for the center to be engaged in, whether it is the center of a federation or a confederation.

I was also interested in the reform and new structure of the Armed Forces. I saw that here too, as in all European countries including Italy, there is a tendency toward reducing military power. We also needed to know whether the Soviet leadership intends to continue the disarmament policy. And here I received clear assurances which touched not only on the reduction of the numerical strength of personnel but also on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. That is very important.

The exchange of experience and opinions and contacts between students at military academies and cadets at military schools of the Soviet Union and Italy was one more topic of our conversations. Here too the results seem to me exceptionally positive.

[Zheglov] In your opinion, are the prospects of a treaty on conventional arms not influenced by the fact that the independent republics today are either creating or intending to create their own armed forces? How do you assess that?

[Rognoni] We hope that here the individual republics will be oriented toward fulfilling the same functions and tasks as the Union as a whole. What is important is not to split up the nuclear potential, including tactical weapons. Centralized control is preferable in order to avoid the splintering and disintegration of the military potential, which could become a complicating political factor.

[Zheglov] In addition to the exchange of servicemen and the noble activity of the "war memorials" association, in your opinion what forms of cooperation could there be

between the Union and Italy in the military sphere? Are joint efforts in the field of conversion, for instance, feasible?

[Rognoni] Of course. I should recall that Italy was the first Western country to sign a protocol of intent with the Union in the field of the study of conversion problems. And we must proceed along this path. Conversion sets a number of economic and social problems which must be resolved. The protocol of intent was signed in December 1989 in Italy and has since been implemented through the activity of various committees precisely with a view to elaborating answers to the questions which arise.

[Zheglov] How is the military policy of Italy itself changing today, if it is changing? After all, so much has changed in the world...

[Rognoni]...We must not forget that my country's military policy is in many ways determined by our membership of the EC. And like the other European countries we are faced with the problem of altering the structure of our armed forces.

In addition we have commitments connected with our membership of NATO, which is now an important mechanism from the political viewpoint.

[Zheglov] After it was decided in Spain to withdraw several dozen U.S. military aircraft from the country, the construction of a base for them was begun on Italian territory. What is the status of the work now? Will construction be continued?

[Rognoni] The base in Crotone was conceived as a NATO base. And we are just as interested in it as all NATO countries are. The U.S. Congress recently questioned the financing of work to construct this base. A meeting should be held in Rome in November at which the fate of this project should be decided one way or another.

[Zheglov] Mr. Minister, you have come to Moscow which today is the capital of, strictly speaking, no one knows what state. The last day of your visit will be in St. Petersburg, which less than a month ago was Leningrad. Everything here is changing rapidly and radically. What is your assessment of the situation?

[Rognoni] It is important, and I can say this with satisfaction, that I have discovered a great desire to continue the process of democratization. The policy of perestroika initiated by Gorbachev in 1985 has taken deep root, which made it possible to resist the putsch. The desire to advance the process of democratization and this process itself were intensified still further after the coup, after resistance had been offered to it.

I think that your country is now at a transitional stage. It is hard to guess what the final result will be. Are you advancing toward a structure in which elements of centralization will prevail, or toward a structure in which the power structures of sovereign republics will prevail?

I think the whole world hopes that a balance will be found between these two branches of power.

New Defense Minister Talks With France's Joxe

PM1709154091 Paris LE MONDE in French
16 Sep 91 p 4

[Report by special correspondent Jacques Amalric: "Marshal Shaposhnikov Claims Moscow Has 'Total Control' Over Its Weapons"]

[Text] Moscow— Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the new Soviet defense minister, is a jovial man. Unlike many of his predecessors, he smiles easily and has a sense of humor. As Soviet Air Force chief, he played a considerable role in thwarting the 19 August coup d'etat by preventing any aircraft—either planes or helicopters—from taking off during the coup. He was amply rewarded by his promotion, replacing General Yazov, one of the eight conspirators.

This does not prevent the new defense minister from nurturing a number of ambitions, including that of becoming the first civilian Soviet defense minister, in the name of the current democratization. This, at least, is what he said in a statement on 13 September to LE MONDE and to AFP. "That is true," he told us. "I did indeed say that the defense minister of the new Union should be a civilian. It is not up to me, but I am willing to change clothes if a civilian is needed. That was no joke, and you understood me correctly."

Friday evening Marshal Shaposhnikov put on his uniform. He had been invited to the French embassy in Moscow by Pierre Joxe, who was ending his visit to the Soviet capital before leaving for Novosibirsk and Tashkent. But on the previous day the marshal received the French defense minister at his dacha, near Moscow, in civilian clothes—this dress detail did not go unnoticed.

Though the evening was much less lively than that at the French embassy, Mr. Joxe and Marshal Shaposhnikov sat down to eat with new KGB chief Bakatin, the eminence grise of the regime that is taking shape; Aleksandr Yakovlev; and the military adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, General Kobets—the man who, during the coup, requested the privilege of executing Marshal Yazov if he is sentenced to death.

However direct Marshal Shaposhnikov is, and however much he praises democracy, he cannot understand the West's anxieties about nuclear weapons, whether strategic or tactical. While deeming "interesting" Mitterrand's proposal to bring together the four nuclear powers involved in the situation in Europe (the United States, Britain, France, and the USSR), he said with a patience bordering on annoyance that Moscow has "total control" over its weapons. "My word should suffice," he added, with controlled irritation. Realizing, however, that this is not exactly the case, he conceded that he will deliberate with the most senior USSR authorities on what "we have not done and on ways of perfecting the system."

He nevertheless refused to say how long the transitional institutions that the Union has just established are liable to last, and avoided specifying exactly how the forces of a modernized army should be constituted. He only offered the figure of 3 million for the transitional stage, though it was not apparent whether he was thus acknowledging Western estimates that the Russian army still has over 4 million men. He was extremely reserved on the subject of the military structures of the future Union.

His only certainty is that the Baltic republics will not be part of them. But, he told Mr. Joxe, they will have to pay to rid themselves of the Soviet troops stationed on their territory—like the Germans. That is, by financing the construction in Russia of homes to house the units withdrawn.

Joxe Welcomes 'Commitment to Democracy'

PM2309145791 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 18 Sep 91 First Edition p 5

[Interview with French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe conducted by correspondent Major M. Zheglov; place and date not given: "Your Military Are Committed to Democracy"]

[Text] [Zheglov] Mr. Minister, the French mass media have maintained that the basic aim of your visit here is to clarify the position of the USSR military-political leadership regarding problems of peace and security on the continent of Europe. What are you now ready to report to the French leadership on this question?

[Joxe] Before coming to the Soviet Union I talked with the American, British, German, and Spanish defense ministers. We were especially interested in nuclear security and the control of nuclear weapons. And the first thing we wanted to know was whether the central power in the USSR would reliably control nuclear weapons in its country. As a result of my conversations with your country's defense minister and the Russian authorities, I have understood that all the republics are agreed that nuclear arms will be controlled solely by the center. I have been assured that strategic nuclear weapons will be under the control of the Armed Forces central command. But France, like everyone in the world, is concerned about the future of tactical nuclear weapons, which are more widespread than strategic nuclear arms systems. This question must be examined in detail. At any rate, France has already come forward with an important initiative: President Mitterrand has announced that new French tactical nuclear weapons will not be deployed when the service life of the present systems expires.

[Zheglov] Do you have any fears in connection with the fact that the Soviet Union, having previously assumed a number of international commitments, for example, on cutting conventional arms, no longer exists from the political standpoint? Will this not impede the discharge of those commitments, in your view?

[Joxe] High-ranking representatives of the Union and Russia with whom I have talked assured me that they intend to honor previously signed international treaties. The democratic movement now developing in your country wants not just democracy, but international peace too. We therefore have faith in the future, particularly after what has happened here. Everyone has seen that the Russian people are committed to democracy. But faith in the future does not exclude prudence and caution. We will be seeking to increase mutual trust by developing contacts and cooperation. For example, my country's president has proposed a conference of the leaders of four nuclear powers—the United States, the USSR, France, and Britain. That would be an important step along the path of strengthening mutual trust.

[Zheglov] At present, when elaborating their military policy, the countries of the West, including France, clearly take account of the military-political course not only of the Union, but also of our republics which have proclaimed state independence. Do you intend to maintain contacts with the armed forces of Russia and other republics if they are created?

[Joxe] When they are created, then we will examine that question. But for the time being, it is impossible to make any assumptions. We will be expanding our contacts with the Soviet Armed Forces next year. Many meetings between representatives of our countries' Ground Forces, Air Forces, and Navies are envisaged. Meetings between representatives of our two countries' General Staffs and among officers are creating an atmosphere of cooperation, which could, of course, also extend to the armed forces of Russia and others if they are created.

[Zheglov] What impressions, then, do you take away with you after your meetings with representatives of our country's Armed Forces?

[Joxe] I conversed here with the defense minister, whom I had met back in Paris in June, when he was Air Force commander in chief. I was received by President Gorbachev. I have seen how the democratic movement is getting stronger in the Soviet Union and how your country's Armed Forces demonstrated their commitment to democracy by refusing to perform a role which is not characteristic of the armies of democratic states. After all, the army's role is solely to defend its country and not fight its own people. The emergence of this commitment to democracy is important not only for democracy in your country, but for peace and security throughout the world.

Pankin on Need for New Treaty With Finland

*LD2309080591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0418 GMT 23 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondents Nikolay Maslov and Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations, 23 Sep (TASS)—A meeting between Boris Pankin, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and P. Vayrynen, minister of foreign affairs of Finland, took place here Sunday.

We had a very constructive conversation on the main questions of bilateral cooperation and international problems, Boris Pankin told the TASS correspondent after the meeting. And perhaps the main thing is that we came to the conclusion that we should sit down at the negotiations table and look at our 1948 Treaty. It was an important instrument of our cooperation, yielded splendid results, made us friends, and good neighbors. However, time is passing. A number of clauses of that treaty have become obsolete, a number require fine tuning. And so the idea was born of elaborating a new document that would take into account the realities of today. We have agreed that somewhere in the second half of October such talks will begin at the level of experts.

We have splendid economic cooperation with Finland, the minister continued. And when it is a question of some kind of humanitarian aid, they are not behind others, either. At the same time, they have expressed readiness to cooperate with the EC countries and with the United States in questions of aid to the USSR and questions connected with credits. This intention was reaffirmed at the meeting which took place today.

Pankin Meets Netherlands Foreign Minister

*LD2309102691 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0416 GMT 23 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondents Nikolay Maslov and Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations, 23 Sep (TASS)—A meeting took place on Sunday between USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and Hans van den Broek, the foreign minister of the Netherlands.

After the meeting H. van den Broek said to journalists:

"We spoke about the situation in Yugoslavia, the convocation of a conference on the Near East, our bilateral relations, and relations between the Soviet Union and the European Community. I think that the Security Council needs to take up a firm position with regard to Yugoslavia, and Western Europe should observe more strictly the embargo on arms supplies."

In conclusion, the Netherlands minister expressed hope that the cease-fire agreement would be maintained in Yugoslavia, and he also came out in favor of sending UN peacekeeping forces there.

Russian Vice President Rutskoy Arrives in UK

*LD2209235791 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1933 GMT 22 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Sisnev]

[Text] London, 22 Sep (TASS)—Aleksandr Rutskoy, the vice president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], arrived in Great Britain today. He will take part in the work of the annual conference of the London Center for Global Power Research, at which problems of the world extraction of fuel resources will be discussed, as well as the political situation in the regions where the main reserves of oil, gas, and other power resources are concentrated.

During the course of the visit, A. Rutskoy will hold talks with members of the British Government, including the Prime Minister John Major.

Cited on Aims of Visit

LD2309122191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2230 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Sisnev]

[Text] London, 23 Sep (TASS)—According to Aleksandr Rutskoy, vice president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the main aims of his working visit to Britain, where he is present at the invitation of Shaykh Yamani, (Saudi Arabia), director of the London Center for Global Energy Studies, are to familiarize his interlocutors with the events taking place in Russia and throughout the Soviet Union, discussing the participation of foreign firms in specific programs aimed at boosting the Russian economy, and achieving corresponding accords in this regard.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, A. Rutskoy noted that Shaykh Yamani had already made suggestions regarding participation in boosting the Russian oil recovery and oil refining industry. He said that our country possesses colossal reserves of oil and is half starving, especially in those areas where this oil is extracted. Such a situation is completely unthinkable.

In the vice president's opinion, business links with foreign firms have been complicated to a considerable degree by the shortcomings in those laws which exist in our country. According to him, these laws are being invented "off the cuff" and, moreover, "are mercilessly chopped about" in the course of discussion in parliament. A. Rutskoy emphasized that direct contracts must have direct legislative backing, so that entrepreneurs who invest money in our economy have appropriate guarantees.

The vice president emphasized that he has not arrived in London to "beg for aid." I count myself among those people who basically regard with distress the idea of providing humanitarian aid to us, he admitted. Handouts are usually distributed to beggars, and Russia is not a beggar and it would not behoove us to beg for charity, leaving no stone unturned, at any level. I see my task as the Russian vice president as an authorized representative of the Russian president in the discussion of questions of investment for specific programs.

Switzerland Seeks To Freeze CPSU Assets

LD2309164191 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Pyotr Tsyrendorzhiev]

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—Press reports that the Russian leaders made a request to foreign governments to freeze assets of the CPSU and the Russian Communist Party in foreign banks were confirmed by Mikhail Kamynin, acting head of the Russian Federal Foreign Ministry press service.

He said this has been done in accordance with the August 25 decree of the Russian president "on the property of the CPSU and the Russian Federation's Communist Party."

The Swiss Government's reaction became known today. Russian authorities believe the Communist Party had deposited large sums in Swiss banks. Vladimir Pozdnyakov of the USSR Foreign Ministry said that in answer to a request by the Soviet Embassy the Swiss side demanded juridical substantiation for freezing the accounts—decisions of judiciary bodies, the numbers of accounts and the sums deposited. Pozdnyakov said that under Swiss legislation the export of capital is no crime.

West Europe Divided on SFRY Peacekeeping Force

PM2409102591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 91 Union Edition p 5

[S. Mushkaterov report under general headline: "Yugoslavia: Again Firing at the Truce"]

[Text] As clashes continue between the opposing sides in Yugoslavia and, in this connection, hopes that the cease-fire accord will come into force dwindle, an ever-wider split is being felt among West European states over the question of sending their own military subunits into that country to keep the peace. They will most likely take a temporizing stand on this question in the immediate future.

This, in particular, is confirmed in a REUTER report disseminated after the end of the Brussels meeting of NATO countries' representatives, at which the question of sending military subunits of the WEU [Western European Union] to Yugoslavia was a key issue. The agency cites the words of an official: An accord was reached to go softly-softly on this question.

The meeting took place on the eve of the extraordinary EC and WEU sessions scheduled for Thursday, at which the foreign and defense ministers will discuss this question. However, certain member states have already made it clear that they take a very cold attitude toward being involved in a "military action" which might be long and hard, particularly if the latest attempt to achieve a cease-fire fails. Britain is one of these countries. British Prime Minister John Major, who is in The Hague,

declared at a news conference after meeting with Netherlands Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers that a decision on sending military subunits to Yugoslavia ought not to be expected from the EC and WEU sessions. And the Netherlands ANP agency bluntly points out in this connection that the Netherlands foreign minister's proposal to send WEU troops to Yugoslavia has not so far received Britain's support. Citing an aide to the British premier, the agency maintains that Britain deems it necessary for a number of conditions to be fulfilled. The cease-fire accord must be realized, and the WEU troops being sent to Yugoslavia must receive an "international mandate" from the CSCE, for example. But the chances that these conditions will be fulfilled are not great.

At the same time France will probably advocate the sending of troops. Agencies cite the words of an official spokesman for the French president, who declared that Roland Dumas, the country's foreign minister, might propose sending UN peacekeeping troops to Yugoslavia at the UN General Assembly next week. He pointed out that Dumas will advance this proposal if the ministers fail to agree to send WEU peacekeeping subunits to Yugoslavia at the EC session Thursday.

Latin America & Caribbean

Further on Nikolayenko Visit, Talks in Cuba

Comments on Brigade Withdrawal

LD2309225191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 2200 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] The Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Valeriy Nikolayenko says his country and Cuba are close to starting negotiations about withdrawal of a Soviet military training brigade from the island. Speaking before his departure from Havana, he said the move would ease tension in the relations between Cuba and the United States. The minister said Cuba would be justified to expect the withdrawal of United States troops from Guantanamo base, but his country did not link the two issues together. However, Valeriy Nikolayenko said the Soviet pull-back did not mean an end to bilateral cooperation with Cuba in military matters or the disruption of bilateral trade.

Havana Consultations 'Difficult'

LD2409010791 Moscow TASS in English
2335 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Kutikov]

[Text] Havana September 23 TASS—Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Valeriy Nikolayenko described the first Soviet-Cuban consultations on the withdrawal of the Soviet military brigade from Cuba, that has recently closed here, as "very difficult".

"The negotiations were carried out in a very frank atmosphere. The results are positive: We have reached

the Cuban understanding of the motives that were laid in the basis of the Soviet initiative on the stage-by-stage withdrawal of the brigade", the diplomat told a news conference here today.

"Mutual efforts enabled the sides to understand the need to pass from confrontation to cooperation in the international relations, as well as to the accent on political solutions of disputable issues.

"We have agreed to begin soon negotiations on specific aspects of the stage-by-stage withdrawal," Nikolayenko said.

According to the official, the Soviet decision to withdraw the troops from Cuba was prompted by the fact that the new stage of the international relations should be based on national interests and not on ideology.

"The initiative aims to create conditions favourable for the lowering of tension and adoption of additional confidence-building measures around Cuba.

"I think that new possibilities will open up to establish a direct dialogue between Cuba and the United States, to which the Soviet Union may contribute", Nikolayenko said before his departure to New York.

He expressed his intention to discuss with representatives of the U.S. Administration "all range of issues to lower tension around Cuba".

Asked about by U.S. guarantees of Cuban safety, the official stressed that the decision to withdraw the brigade "is based on Washington statements that any Soviet step to reduce its military presence in Cuba will not be used to harm the security of the Republic."

He also said that "over recent months we sought to find confidence-building measures from the U.S. side as regards Cuba, and, in this respect, the United States have made some partial steps, including those concerning U.S. warplanes surveillance flights to Cuba and holding of military exercises in that area".

"The Soviet Union has contributed to this process by its decision to withdraw the brigade," stressed Nikolayenko and specified that "the initiative on the troops withdrawal will not mean the complete termination of Soviet-Cuban cooperation in the military sphere."

The Soviet diplomat did not "directly connect" the initiative on the brigade with the Cuban demands on the simultaneous elimination of the U.S. naval base on Cuban territory in Guantanamo.

Describing these demands as "just", he stressed that such issue should better be solved "in a direct dialogue between Havana and Washington."

Cuban First Deputy Foreign Minister Alcibiades Hidalgo views this problem from somewhat different point of view.

He told the news conference that Cuba has confirmed to the Soviet side the official stand that the only possible way to contribute to the provision of the Cuban national safety, is that the Soviet initiative on the brigade withdrawal should contribute to the elimination of the U.S. military presence in Guantanamo.

Implications of Withdrawal Noted

LD2309160791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Sergey Koshkin commentary]

[Text] Soviet-Cuban consultations on withdrawing the Soviet training brigade from Cuba have come to an end in Havana. Our commentary is by Sergey Koshkin:

[Koshkin] Following the recent statement by the Soviet president Gorbachev on the planned withdrawal of the Soviet training brigade from Cuba, a need has arisen to discuss the matters between the two countries. Consultations at the deputy foreign minister level were held at the initiative of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet deputy foreign minister Valeriy Nikolayenko has drawn the attention of the Cuban side to the fact that the Soviet proposal is aimed at lowering the confrontation around Cuba and in the region as a whole, and is in keeping with the changes for the better that are now taking place in the world, and they also help to replace confrontation with cooperation and repudiate the use of force in settling disputable issues.

The current consultations were not easy since the representatives of the Cuban Foreign Ministry adhere to the earlier outlined stand claiming that the Soviet president's statement was a dangerous practice, because no consultations had been held with Cuba and no advanced warning had been given.

The Cuban leaders in the official Communist Party newspaper said that the Soviet unilateral decision was tantamount to giving the green light to the U.S. aggressive plans against Cuba. At the same time it was underlined that Cuba may agree to the Soviet troops' withdrawal if the U.S. Guantanamo Airbase will be closed on the Cuban territory.

Though the Soviet side did not link its decision to withdraw troops with the problem of the U.S. Guantanamo Airbase, the state of Soviet-American relations is such that U.S. steps to meet the Soviet Union halfway could be expected. At least U.S. military presence in Cuba could be reduced.

A Pentagon spokesman said that the Guantanamo Airbase is far more superior in significance than any military presence, and therefore it cannot be closed. As it has become known, the Soviet Union intends to discuss the Cuban issue with the United States in New York.

In Havana it has been decided to hold talks on the stage by stage withdrawal of the Soviet servicemen in the near

future. The terms will be specified later. As for the prospects for developing Soviet-Cuban ties, the two sides have agreed to markedly renew them. The Soviet side has confirmed its intention to preserve friendly bilateral relations to the advantage of both sides and make them free from any political considerations.

Cuban Reportage on Visit

WA2409131191

For reportage on the visit by Deputy Foreign Minister Valeriy Nikolayenko to Cuba, including reports on his talks with Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Alcibiades Hidalgo and other officials on the proposed Soviet troop withdrawal and future ties, please see the Cuba section of the 24 September Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Cuban Reaction to Troops Withdrawal Proposal

Action Called 'Intolerable'

PM2309143191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Does Gorbachev Know How Many Soldiers We Have in Cuba?"]

[Text] Havana, 12 Sep—On Wednesday the Cuban Foreign Ministry described USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Cuban territory as an "intolerable practice" from the viewpoint of international norms and existing Soviet-Cuban treaties. The Cuban Foreign Ministry explained its position, saying that "President Gorbachev's public statement had not been preceded by either consultations or prior notification" of the Cuban side.

It is interesting, the Foreign Ministry stressed, that M. Gorbachev's pronouncement named an "exaggerated figure of 11,000 Soviet servicemen allegedly in Cuba." "This figure, subsequently adjusted by TASS, was originally attributed to President Gorbachev when he was answering a question during the joint press conference" the Soviet president had with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, the document points out.

"The Soviet military presence in our country, fully in accordance with international law and by virtue of agreements between the two countries' governments, is in fact considerably smaller and is more of a symbolic nature, if one is talking about Cuba's defense capability," the statement notes.

The Cuban Foreign Ministry pointed out that during the press conference U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker "did not even mention the U.S. servicemen stationed on Cuban territory illegally occupied by the U.S. Government in Guantanamo."

Ministry Issues Note on Guantanamo

*LD2409102591 Moscow TASS in English
0824 GMT 24 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Paska]

[Text] Havana September 24 TASS—Cuba has reiterated its position on the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw a training brigade from Cuba at recent Soviet-Cuban consultations in Havana between September 21-22.

"The Soviet proposal should lead to talks to end the U.S. military presence at the navy base in Guantanamo

against the will of our people," a note distributed by the Cuban Foreign Ministry on Monday says.

The Soviet and Cuban delegations headed by Valeriy Nikolayenko, deputy Soviet Foreign Minister, and Alcibiades Hidalgo, first deputy Cuba foreign minister, agreed to begin official talks on this issue.

Cuba called the Soviet Union's decision "an unconditional concession". "A unilateral decision to pull out a military unit made by the Soviet Union without preliminary conditions and consultations means a 'go-ahead' for United States to carry out its aggressive plans against Cuba," the Cuban GRANMA newspaper says.

Political & Social**TASS Reports Gorbachev's Italian TV Interview***LD2009221691 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2030 GMT 20 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Dmitry Polunin and Nikolay Teterin]

[Text] Rome, 20 Sep (TASS)—Acute economic and political problems facing the country; questions on the Union's state system and further democratization of social life; cooperation with the West, specifically with Italy; measures for preventing future coup attempts—these and other topical issues were discussed by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev in an exclusive interview he gave right before Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti's USSR visit. This interview was carried today by Italian state television.

On behalf of the Soviet people, Mikhail Gorbachev expressed feelings of friendship and gratitude to all Italians. Having expressed satisfaction over the Italian head of government's forthcoming visit, he said: We cherish very much cooperation with your great and beautiful country, which has a rich history. I have already had an opportunity to talk to Mr. Andreotti after the Crimea. That was an important conversation, during which we confirmed the ambition of both our countries to tap new opportunities which should be exploited. The USSR president feels that what is now happening in the country has given us a good opportunity to raise to a completely new level our cooperation with Western countries, in particular with partners such as Italy.

Gorbachev feels that, following G-7 doubts at the meeting in London on aid to the USSR, debates on the subject are drawing to a close and that what is at issue now is the USSR's involvement in fully equal cooperation and support for USSR reforms. Having blocked the coup organizers' path, the country has clearly shown its determination to continue with democratic reforms, Gorbachev said. In this regard, he dwelled on the question of guarantees against the August events recurring in the future since the struggle has not yet ended. Many who supported the putsch remain in state structures and are trying to find new ways to return to the past. It is necessary to retain presence of mind and to remain calm but firm at the same time. Having stressed that dangers and difficulties have not yet been overcome and that all the problems which have piled up from before the tragic August events remain unresolved, Gorbachev at the same time expressed confidence that one can look to the future with certain faith. He touched on questions concerning the republics' conclusion of the new Union treaty and economic agreement.

In answering the question on the fact that some newspapers—above all, PRAVDA—are essentially accusing him of collaboration with the plotters, the president said that this is how attempts are made to sow doubt and to

drive a wedge into the lasting cooperation of the democratic forces and their leaders. The attempts to drive a wedge are aimed at creating artificial disagreements between the presidents of Russia and of the USSR and also of stopping the processes which are under way. These attempts are carried out both by the extreme left and by the extreme right. The most important task now, according to Gorbachev, is speedy progress down the reform path. This applies to the Union and the economy but, above all, to the political process being open to new groups of people and for new people becoming involved in political activity. It is most important that their level of activity rises.

The Soviet leader expressed confidence that society must progress down the path toward mixed economic forms and toward having freedom of choice in forms of ownership. The question of land ownership is very delicate and is conditioned by differences of cultural and historic traditions in individual republics.

In answering a question, Gorbachev confirmed that he retains his loyalty to the socialist idea. I have made my choice, and I am convinced that society must be reformed and must acquire a new image. It must become humane and hold out guarantees for civic rights and all freedoms.

At the end of the interview, Gorbachev confirmed that he will use President Francesco Cossiga's invitation to visit Italy, where he has many loyal friends.

New Silayev Government To Stress Professionalism*PM2309130591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1*

[Interview with I.S. Silayev, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers and of the Interrepublic Economic Committee, by TASS economic observer Boris Grishchenko; place and date not given; first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction: "Ivan Silayev on the Country's New Government"]

[Text] By decree of the USSR President Ivan Stepanovich Silayev has been appointed chairman of the IEC [Interrepublic Economic Committee].

The appointment has been made in a situation when the country's economy is in a critical state and when complex problems associated with the management of the national economy have to be resolved without delay. This was the subject of a conversation between Ivan Silayev and TASS economic observer Boris Grishchenko, prepared especially for IZVESTIYA.

[Grishchenko] Ivan Stepanovich, much has been said recently of your impending departure from the post of Russian head of government. I am more interested in another question: When will the IEC, which you have been entrusted with heading, be formed?

[Silayev] I would elaborate: In connection with the State Council's appointing me chairman of the IEC, naturally I must leave the chairmanship of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers. President M. Gorbachev's decree states that we should submit the structure of the IEC to the State Council within one month, define its functions, and make proposals for specific personnel appointments. I believe that it is in our interests not to take the entire month. I think we will manage it in three weeks at most. We can and must do this.

[Grishchenko] You are essentially becoming the head of the country's new government. How do you see its role and tasks, and which functions will you take over from the former Cabinet of Ministers and the Committee for Operational Management?

[Silayev] I believe that we will take over from the cabinet only its technical composition. In my opinion, it is quite professional, although it will be smaller, considerably smaller, than it was. From the viewpoint of principles and approaches, I cannot say that we will take anything over from the former structures. Most likely, we will take over nothing. Because it is not a central government in the former sense that is being created. It is no coincidence that it has been said that the committee, whose title I deem it necessary to define more precisely, will tackle not only economic problems but also the working of the national economy as a whole.

And the very principle of its operation will be totally different: without directives and, particularly, without demands to work in a way that pleases the center. On the contrary, our chief task is to favor the republics as much as possible and to help them to resolve their questions and to realize their economic reforms. We are obliged to help them in this.

[Grishchenko] Such approaches are already apparent at the sessions of the Committee for the Management of the National Economy; a different style from the old one...

[Silayev] It will prevail and gain in strength.

[Grishchenko] You have said that new power structures are to be created. How do you picture them, at least in general outline?

[Silayev] First of all, I would call this very structure the Interrepublic Coordinating Committee. Not economic but precisely coordinating. Because the economy is just one of its functions. Its top organ is to be the council of government chairmen—premiers—of the republics. I believe that the council must meet once a month. It must meet regularly like this, although extraordinary meetings are also possible, which must examine very important questions of the economy and other problems of interest to the republics—to all or most of them. I say this guided by the opinion of the parties to the economic agreement.

But, naturally, a working mechanism is needed so that we can adopt decisions promptly and discuss questions. According to our preliminary plan, commissions on the

most important areas of activity of the republics and the country as a whole will form the basis of this mechanism. These commissions will also include representatives of all the republics that are parties to the economic agreement. They examine questions, make proposals and recommendations, and discuss particular problems on both an operational and a strategic plane. This is how the republics' interests are expressed in the working mechanism of the new structure.

Of course, the commissions cannot take over the functions of, say, a department such as the Ministry of Finance. Perhaps that ministry will remain, or perhaps it will no longer be a ministry but a different financial working organ which, operating together with the commissions and putting appropriate proposals to them, will have to realize particular schemes and decisions in specific studies, as a professional organ.

Or this. A Ministry of the Economy exists today. We do not deem it necessary to preserve the vast ministry, but we will save its professional staff and the best part of the leaders and specialists. This organ will have to realize the studies and assignments that arise from the commissions.

So, let us sum up: The top executive organ is the premiers' council. Then, on a permanent basis, the commissions on the most important areas in the life of all the republics, and the corresponding state organs working for the commissions. We will endeavor to form as few different management structures as possible. But the outline and the principles of their structure are just as I have said.

[Grishchenko] Have I understood correctly—a gamble on professionalism?

[Silayev] Yes, of course. There is a combination here: the republics with their interests plus a professional approach to the problems that must be resolved.

[Grishchenko] What are the most urgent tasks that the coordinating committee will have to resolve? Incidentally, are we getting away from the abbreviation "IEC"?

[Silayev] There is also this version: the Interrepublic Executive Committee. But here it is definitely necessary to consult with the republics. As regards urgent tasks, there are lots of them. The current ones include the winter and food. At the same time we have to perfect the mechanism itself, which is the chief thing.

It is also necessary to agree with the republics on how to select cadres, and we will certainly not select them only from Moscow. Maybe not even so much from Moscow. Candidacies for key posts must be looked at in the republics. There are talented people there, professionals at their work. And the task consists in avoiding mistakes in their selection and placement. I repeat, we will do this on the basis of consulting with the republics and their leaderships, on the principles of people's business characteristics and professional standards.

Naturally, when selecting specialists we will take account of people's age, professionalism, and devotion to democratic approaches. All this does not mean that only total novices with no work experience will be employed. We need the fusion of experience with the enterprising nature of young people in the most responsible state sense. I am sure that we will have both.

[Grishchenko] Ivan Stepanovich, let us return to the rumors. When is your departure from the Russian Government planned?

[Silayev] Incidentally, I objected to my new appointment. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin came to the aid of the State Council here. He understood my concern, knowing that I had not intended to leave the Russian Federation Council of Ministers. However, when it came down to appointing a specific person in the State Council, he cast his vote for my candidacy. And he adopted the decision that I should remain in my former post as head of the Russian Government and of the Committee for Operational Management until the economic agreement has been signed and the makeup of the new leadership has been confirmed.

[Grishchenko] On whose assistance are you counting most of all in your new post, and whose support do you need most of all now?

[Silayev] I have to discuss precisely this question with the republics' representatives, and I hope that they will express their views frankly. I count on the support of a number of prominent experts with whom I have long cooperated.

In other words, we count not only on our own "wise" conclusions but on the constant support of scientists with a profound knowledge of these questions. In my personal selection of staff I plan to have recourse to the way that was used when the Russian Federation Council of Ministers was being formed—to turn to intellectuals and sociologists. In this way it is possible to determine the individual abilities of a particular candidate with a greater degree of probability.

Trubin Interviewed on Putsch, Procuracy

LD2309173791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1540 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Interview with USSR Procurator General Nikolay Trubin by Yuliy Chertkova, from the "Man and Law" program; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Chertkova] The "Man and Law" program is on the air. This is Yuliya Chertkova. Good evening, today once again we are going to take a road whose beginning is to be found in the three days of August and whose end is not yet in sight. It is a road in the destiny of one man of whom much is known—perhaps too much, even—but who has himself so far not given one single interview to

the mass media after August. Today is his first meeting with you. He is Nikolay Semenovitch Trubin, Procurator General of the USSR.

With whom do I now have the honor of speaking? With the acting procurator general or with the procurator general of the USSR?

[Trubin] I think that you are in fact talking to the procurator general of the USSR insofar as the Supreme Soviet of the Union in its old composition accepted my resignation but instructed me to continue as procurator general of the USSR until the issue was examined at the Congress of People's Deputies. But at the Congress, as you remember, the proposal that this issue be included in the agenda did not get the necessary majority and the matter was not examined. I therefore consider that this issue will be finally decided by the USSR Supreme Soviet in its new composition.

[Chertkova] But what were your inner reasons for wanting to resign?

[Trubin] In the first place, the recognition of my moral responsibility for the fact that in my absence and at a time of severe trial for the country the leadership of the USSR procuracy had shown lack of principle and faint-heartedness in the way it reacted to what had happened in our country. In the second place, evidently in consequence of these events moral terror began in the press with regard to myself personally. Various kinds of rumors and assumptions were invented and whipped up. In other words an atmosphere of distrust toward me as procurator general of the USSR was artificially created. That would not have mattered had it not been reflected in my work. If you remember, the criminal case concerning the plotters was instituted by myself on 21 August, the day when I went back to work following my return from abroad. We began the investigation, but investigations went on in parallel. A separate investigation was conducted by the procuracy of the Russian Federation [RSFSR] and a separate investigation was conducted by the USSR procuracy. The RSFSR procuracy arrested a number of plotters and the procuracy of the Union detained and arrested another lot of plotters. Then the proposal that we should unite our efforts and conduct this investigation under our aegis was not accepted by the Russians.

I have to say that on the very first day, during the evening of the 21st, I was telephoned by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin who asked me whether I could not put the whole investigation into the hands of the procuracy of the Russian Federation. I understand perfectly well that Russia and in particular the Russian leadership here in Moscow suffered most from the attempted coup d'état. I understand the role and the importance of the Russians in putting down the putsch. But I was unable to agree to that proposal for legal reasons. Several issues in this case can only be decided by the USSR procurator general. By virtue of the fact that many of the plotters were USSR people's deputies, criminal cases against

them under the law on the status of the USSR people's deputy can only be instituted by the procurator general of the USSR. The matter of taking away their deputy's immunity also falls exclusively within the competence of the procurator general of the USSR.

And third, many military men were involved in the conspiracy. The military come under the jurisdiction of the USSR Procuracy. True, we subsequently found a way out. I felt that parallel investigations would achieve nothing worthwhile, and that one single case had to be conducted. It was decided to combine them into one. I issued this order: to combine the teams of investigators into one; that Comrade (Lysov), RSFSR deputy procurator general be appointed to head the investigation; and that Comrade Frolov, head of the quick-response department of the USSR Procuracy, be appointed his deputy.

I think that this was the only correct move in this situation, and now the investigation is heading in the right direction and is being conducted under a single leadership, according to a single plan. And I think that the investigation will be conducted successfully. But I understand you. I have not fully answered the question. There's more. A draft USSR Supreme Soviet resolution was debated, dealing with the situation that had taken shape in the country following the coup d'etat. One of the clauses envisaged having the Congress of USSR People's Deputies debate a motion on my unfitness to be USSR procurator general. In connection with all these circumstances, I issued a statement requesting that I be allowed to resign.

[Chertkova] Trubin, Nikolay Semenovitch, is a full state counsellor in justice. Born 1931. Russian. Place of birth - the village of Burdygino, Sorochinsk rayon, Orenburg oblast. In 1953 graduated with distinction from Sverdlovsk Institute of Law. Candidate of Law. Defended his thesis on the defense of citizens' rights during investigation and enquiries. Speaks Spanish. Took part in the investigation in Cambodia into Khmer Rouge atrocities.

When we met after your appointment to this post, you said that the country's president, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, had phoned you and offered you this post. Were there any talks between you after the coup, with him personally? Did he give his opinion on anything, if it was not given in confidence, of course?

[Trubin] I was invited to meet the president, after he had returned from Foros. But I was not alone, there was an entire group of people whom he had continued to trust. He talked to us about the conditions of his isolation in the Crimea. But you know about the rest. This conversation did take place, he spoke in detail about everything. And it was there, in the presence of the others, that I told him, Mikhail Sergeyevich, it looks like you will have to testify in connection with the case.

He said: I have no objections whatsoever. Let's pick a time and I will testify. Such was the contact we had. After this, we met in person when we questioned him as a witness. At any rate, for his part he has no complaints

whatsoever with regard to me, nor reproaches of any kind. What else did you want to know on this matter?

[Chertkova] He was no doubt familiar with all the material alleging that you made some statements in Cuba in support of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]?

[Trubin] Yes, he asked me. He asked me about this and I explained to him that I had not yet so completely flipped my lid, as young people say, as to comment in any way on these events half an hour after receiving these SCSE documents.

In Cuba, the situation developed for me in the following manner. 19 August was the day of our delegation's departure for Moscow. An official ceremony had been set for that same day for the signing of a treaty on continuing further bilateral cooperation between the Procuracy of the Union and the Procuracy of the Republic of Cuba. At approximately 0900 the Soviet embassy phoned me and said: we request that you stay at your residence for the time being. You will be brought some documents right now. At approximately 0930 the documents were delivered. I read them. I won't dwell on the impression that all this made on me. I called members of the delegation in and we read them through together. I said straightaway that it smacked very much of a coup d'etat. And then, in this very dark mood, we went off to the official ceremony.

Well, the prosecutor general of Cuba also knew about it and we had an exchange of views. I expressed the very same conjecture. Then we arrived. The signing ceremony took place at 1000. The Cuban prosecutor general said a few words. I said a few, so to speak, insignificant words, assuring them of bilateral trust in each other, and so on. At any rate, the topic of the information we had received was not mentioned in those remarks. Then I was told that some journalists—there were six or seven of them—were waiting for me. They asked me how I could assess these reports. I told them I could not comment and that I had no information other than that received. Then they asked a second question: But you are a citizen of that country, you know the situation. What can you say? What is it? A committee for public salvation? I said: No, judging from the documents it is a State Committee for a State of Emergency, and I went on to explain that we have a law on the regime of a state of emergency. Furthermore, I assumed that its requirements had been observed.

I went on to say that a considerable section of our population was, generally speaking, inclined to believe that a strong hand was necessary to impose order in our country. Evidently, this committee is playing the role of the strong hand. But not everyone will agree with this, I said; there will be strong opposition. And I should very much hope that it will pass without bloodshed.

Meanwhile, reports began to appear in the press that I had recognized the existence and activities of this SCSE as legal, and my words were even quoted in inverted

commas which in absolutely no way corresponded with the truth. It must be said at this point that I was not alone; there were three people with me from the Soviet Union, and it was possible to approach them and to clarify the position before printing this information.

[Chertkova] An urgent telegram: Today I sent a telegram to President Gorbachev, the USSR Supreme Soviet, Laptev, and Nishanov containing the following: Having learned from a television broadcast about the setting up of a commission to check the authenticity of the publication of statements by Procurator General Trubin during the period of his stay in Cuba, I testify to the complete false nature of what was published. I am a member of the delegation. Having received a report about the setting up of the SCSE, Trubin, on 19 August, in my presence, stated to the Cuban procurator general and his colleagues that a counterrevolutionary coup had taken place in our country, a junta had come to power, and I fear that the procuracy bodies might be dragged into this adventure. It would not be just if the people's deputies believe the lies of journalists and an innocent person suffers because of this. I am a person who is independent of Trubin, I testify on my honor—(Kotsuba), procurator of Cherkassy Oblast.

Now, let us move on to those matters which now lie on your table at the present moment—it is already September—following the events in Moscow at the end of August.

[Trubin] About two months ago I was brought a document saying that it was necessary to pose the question of lifting Kalugin's deputy's immunity, and even of his arrest, before the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In other words, the fifth session had ended, the sixth session was due to start some time in September, according to the old schedule, and now, at that time, it should be presented before the presidium. I immediately adopted a decision and told the comrades that I would not present this question before the Presidium. It was too sensational an issue for it to be discussed secretly; it had to be discussed publicly at the Supreme Soviet session. That was the first thing. Second, there could be no question of an arrest. There was no necessity for this. One could only speak about criminal proceedings being brought if there are grounds for it. A superficial, so to speak, juridical analysis of what was set out in the statement, of course, reaffirmed the existence—the formal existence—of signs of the disclosure of a state secret. But I could not lose sight of the fact that a disclosed secret has long since ceased to be a secret.

These secrets were published by many foreign publications. Consequently, if Oleg Kalugin did speak about something or other at rallies, or in his newspaper articles, or in interviews and so on, he was essentially repeating what was already known.

[Chertkova] I do beg your pardon, it was known, only not to our listeners.

[Trubin] Yes, but it was, in any case, known. At any rate, the CIA knew all that, of this I am convinced. That is why I prevaricated with regard to resolving the issue and signing a submission of this kind. Here, as they say, a coup d'etat was ripe. In these conditions, I decided forthwith that following what had taken place it would simply have been immoral to bring criminal proceedings against a person for making public the secrets which are now known to all our people, they all know what sort of secrets these are. Hence, I issued instructions to have the proceedings halted without delay, in view of the absence of a corpus delicti. And the case was stopped.

[Chertkova] Now the next case you studied is that of Gdlyan.

[Trubin] In a radio broadcast in which you took part I have already explained my attitude to the Gdlyan and Ivanov case and I said at that time that I instructed a completely independent person to study this whole case in meticulous detail. We concluded that all his slip-ups with regard to this case resemble nothing more than merely a disciplinary misdemeanor. Hence it was decided to stop criminal proceedings with regard to all these persons, in view of the absence of a corpus delicti. Moreover, the fact that they have already been brought to book through disciplinary procedures was taken into account here.

[Chertkova] We do, incidentally, have a bit of time to chat about the international telegram which, I know, is going today to Aleksandr Isayevich Solzhenitsyn, the state of Vermont, America.

[Trubin] Generally speaking, I was aware of Solzhenitsyn's fate from afar, as it were. I knew he was invited to the Union Procuracy and expelled from the Soviet Union on the following day. Well, recently reports have begun to appear here and there in the press, to the effect that Aleksandr Isayevich Solzhenitsyn is now ready to return home, following the abortive coup d'etat. It was, however, said somewhere that this would only happen after the stigma of a traitor to his motherland has been completely lifted from him, or something in this vein. Having acquainted myself with these press materials, I tried to find the case materials. These were indeed found in the USSR Procuracy archives. There is one volume of this and, in practice, contains no evidence at all, absolutely none. There is a decision by Malyarov, former first USSR deputy procurator general, to commence proceedings. The motivation here given is that he damages our state in some way. He started the criminal proceedings on the basis of Article 64 and he instructed that an investigation be carried out.

Then the resolution on instituting proceedings on the case, then the resolution on bringing Solzhenitsyn into custody at the Procuracy, and then information that one should acquaint oneself with one or another chapter or part of *Gulag Archipelago*. And further, a whole volume

of letters from ordinary Soviet citizens who were indignant about the conduct of Solzhenitsyn who was slandering our reality, and so on.

[Chertkova] Not only from ordinary Soviet citizens, surely?

[Trubin] Not only ordinary ones, not only. After these letters there was a whole ream of newspaper cuttings with angry public condemnations of Solzhenitsyn's behavior and with demands that Rudenko, the USSR Procurator General, call him to the strictest account. Admittedly, for the sake of objectivity, it needs to be said that there are also documents from foreign citizens and organizations, law-protecting, which had heard about everything which was occurring around the name of Solzhenitsyn and tried to come forward in defense of the rights of this person. They took him into their protection. But there was not a single interrogation, not a single one, at all. Then at the end of all of this, a multitude of mail, consisting of letters and publications, from many well-known figures including figures of culture and science.

[Chertkova] Those involved in perestroika, probably...

[Trubin] Some of these continue to thrive today, in the interests of the case we will not name any names. This is a question of their consciences today. It was published in the press and all of this was read at its own time. And finally there was a resolution that proceedings were instigated in accordance with Article 64, that all of this was corroborated. However, taking into account the fact that he has been deprived of citizenship of the USSR and has been moved outside the boundaries of the USSR it was resolved to cease criminal action. That is, there is not even any juridical justification. Well, a specialist might understand that the cessation occurred by virtue of a change in the situation since the individual had been thrown out and so there was no longer anything to discuss. At the same time the case should have been ceased, of course, due to the absence of a crime in the activities of Solzhenitsyn, because apart from *Gulag Archipelago* nothing else was being discussed.

Therefore we have issued a resolution on the revocation of the previous resolution of 1974 and on the cessation of the case of Solzhenitsyn due to the absence of signs of any kind of crime in his activities. And we have sent him a telegram with notification of this and with apologies for the activities of—although former, still—employees of the USSR Procuracy.

New Chief Explains Role of MVD Troops

LD2309151191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1346 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Sep (TASS)—“Real”—this is how Lieutenant-General Vasilii Savvin, the new chief of the interior forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs

[MVD], describes the processes during which a number of republics have made statements on the transfer of the internal troops stationed on their territory to their subordination and others on the withdrawal of troops from their republics. Further explaining his attitude toward these processes, Vasilii Savvin, who is currently in St. Petersburg, told the TASS correspondent on the telephone:

“Profound changes are occurring within society and the troops cannot remain to one side. One need only take into account the fact that the troops are entrusted with tasks which each republic cannot resolve separately. I have in mind the public safety of the people and the battle against crime, for which borders do not exist. For this reason there should be forces which are under the jurisdiction of the center and acting in the interests of all. However, there are troop units which can and must be under the jurisdiction of the republics and act in their interests—for example armed escorts for prisoners and special motorized units of the militia. I think that the USSR State Council will speak about the fate of the troops in the near future. And we will proceed from this.”

As is known, Vasilii Savvin took up his post by decree of the USSR president. He is 52 and has spent 35 years in service in the Internal Affairs troops. He has served in the Baltics, in the north of the country, and in Siberia. He has held many command and staff posts. During recent years he headed the administration of internal troops for the northwest and the Baltics. He is married and has two daughters.

Paper Reports Barannikov Press Conference

91US0816A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
12 Sep 91 p 4

[Report by N. Nikulina on press conference given by V.P. Barannikov, new minister of internal affairs, at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs; date not given: “The Law Is the God of the Militia”]

[Text] There is a new minister at the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. V.P. Barannikov was appointed to this position by an ukase of the USSR president dated the 23d of the tragic August of this year. He is 51. He has served in the organs of internal affairs for 30 years. Militia Colonel General Barannikov has risen through the ranks of the service, beginning with the job of district inspector. Prior to his latest appointment, Viktor Pavlovich headed the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] MVD. Now he heads the entire militia of the country. What propelled his rise? Perhaps, in addition to professionalism, simple human traits—honesty, integrity, and frankness. Also undoubtedly the uncompromising position Barannikov took during the days of the coup. V.P. Barannikov, minister of internal affairs of the country, stated his creed at a recent press conference as follows: “I believe that the MVD should

rule out any party activities within and outside the organization. The law enforcement organs have one god—the law."

The small auditorium of the ministry held with difficulty all those who wanted to see and listen to the new minister. For almost two hours Viktor Pavlovich worthily "rebuffed" the persistent onslaught of journalists. His debut may be considered successful, despite the fact that he has been in this high position for only 10 days. My colleagues were interested literally in everything, from politics to the uniforms and pay of rank-and-file militiamen.

Viktor Barannikov responded in a refined and diplomatic manner to questions from journalists concerning the military coup, the relationship with his predecessor Boris Pugo, participation in defending the RSFSR House of Soviets, those guilty and those not guilty, and those who sympathized and those who denounced the actions of the junta, in order not to interfere with the investigation or aggravate the situation in society, which has already been inflamed by the August military coup. The minister justifiably rebuked journalists who gave in to populism on this issue in the heat of fighting for justice. He called for a halt to the euphoria of victory. V. Barannikov said: "The situation in the country is very serious. This is why we should get down to work. Investigators and historians will sort the putsch out."

As we all are, the minister is very concerned about the crime situation in the country. In assessing the current situation Viktor Barannikov gave several statistics which, unfortunately, are not gratifying. Crime is still on the increase. In the eight months of this year alone more than 2 million common crimes have been committed. Unfavorable processes are spreading in the economy, and organized crime is growing. Internal affairs functionaries, together with law enforcement organs, have eliminated 600 organized groups of this kind since the beginning of the year. Sixty-four thousand firearms, 19 million units of ammunition, and almost 45 tons of explosives have been confiscated from bandits. Cases of terrorism on interethnic grounds are no longer isolated. As of now, 388 people have already perished in interethnic clashes, and more than 1,000 have been wounded. Innocent people—children, old people, women—suffer through the fault of poor excuses for politicians.

Viktor Barannikov believes that crime will stabilize only when the economy and sociopolitical relations stabilize. However, the militia will not sit on its hands waiting for a miracle. It will combat crimes, primarily crimes against people, as well as the theft of personal and state assets. In this sphere radical reform is in store for the USSR MVD. The ministry will now become involved in issues of criminal reporting, analysis, prediction, and coordination of the actions of republic organs in fighting crime. There should be no tutelage by the center with regard to issues of personnel policy, organizing the protection of public order, and traffic.

The sociopolitical situation in the country has changed fundamentally since 19 August. This is why the leadership of the MVD of the country has decided to create new organizational structures of the ministry on a firm legal basis. Some main administrations will have to be cut back. At the same time, divisions for combating crime and operations and detective services will be reinforced with professional cadres and modern equipment. The staff of the ministry, which has recently swollen, will be reduced. However, professionals have nothing to fear: They will remain. Viktor Barannikov is convinced that "this has to do with the quality of work rather than a cadre 'purge.'"

Not only the structure of the ministry but also its relations with republic organs will change: They will become contractual. Most of the current functions of the central apparatus of the ministry will be transferred to the republics. For example, if a republic is not in a position to handle a complicated criminal case professionally, specialists from Moscow will join in the work. The new minister believes that the center is necessary in law enforcement. However, it is not the republic organs that should exist for the ministry but rather the other way around: The ministry should exist for the republics, which will become its customers.

The ministry will have to retain professionals in order to fill such orders in keeping with proper standards. Recently, many of them have left the internal affairs organs for private detective work and cooperative guard services due to poor pay, poor living conditions, and lack of social protection. It is planned to create the ministry's own construction industry, in addition to a substantial pay increase and ration issuance, in order to stop the outflow of cadre personnel, bring back those who have left, and attract professionals to the ministry. The USSR MVD has the requisite potential.

So many verbal and written questions were asked that Viktor Barannikov simply did not have time to respond to some. However, the newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN was given an opportunity to receive competent answers. We were interested in the nature of crime in rural areas, and in whether the BKhSS [Combating the Theft of Socialist Property] service, which is involved to a considerable degree in solving crimes associated with the theft of farm products and the preservation of the crop, will remain in the MVD. The answer to the first question pained us. It turned out that theft is the crime most characteristic of rural areas. Literally anything and everything is stolen: from calves at a farm and poultry from private farm yards to potatoes from collective farm fields. Everything that may be shipped out of the semi-devastated rural areas is shipped out. The answer to the second question was more optimistic. Despite the fact that the BKhSS service will not remain in its present format (in addition to personal and state, many other types of property have appeared in the country), a unified anticriminal block will be set up at the ministry—a specialized criminal militia. The service of crime

control in the economic sphere will make it possible for professionals to work productively and for better standards.

DRM, Democratic Russia Hold 'Informal' Talks

LD2309193491 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT
23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—The Democratic Reform Movement (DRM) in Moscow now numbers at least 1,500 members. Nearly 600 support groups have been set up in various organisations and artists unions, leaders told the movement's founding conference which opened in Moscow today.

The conference, held within the framework of preparations for the founding Congress of the Democratic Reform Movement, marks a step towards creating a new political force and realignment of political forces in the country in the wake of last month coup's rout.

The proposal to form a Democratic Reform Movement was put forward last July by a number of remarkable politicians, formerly in the leading positions in the country and the Communist Party.

At that time, the Democratic Reform Movement was intended as a democratic alternative to the Soviet Communist Party.

Now, its organisers are claiming a mission to unite all democratic forces for the purpose of building a new civil society. However, the broadest of the present democratic movements, Democratic Russia, is reluctant to join forces with the Democratic Reform Movement and is likely to become its main rival.

The organisers of today's conference made clear from the outset they wanted to give the gathering an informal touch—instead of electing a Presidium and hearing opening addresses, the conference heard the Nikitins—a duet of renowned Soviet bards.

The official part opened with an address by one of the Democratic Russia leaders Arkadiy Murashev. He made it clear his organisation had no intention of merging with the Democratic Reform Movement but was willing to cooperate.

Murashev said the two major democratic movements can act as a united bloc during the forthcoming presidential elections. Taking into account that "the political monster, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is no more," Murashev pointed to "Soviet fascists" as the common opponent of the two movements.

He said he felt no differences with the leaders of the democratic reform movement and on the whole "saw no great difference between Democratic Russia and the Democratic Reform Movement. Murashev then suggested that "the process of differentiation and

regrouping of political forces still lies ahead and will eventually culminate in the establishment of a two-party system."

According to Nikolai Petrakov, a member of the DRM political council, the Democratic Reform Movement must be a movement of honest people. Pavel Bunich told the conference that there exists a "big political niche" for the Movement and said recent plenary meetings of the 12-million-strong union of entrepreneurs and leaseholders of the USSR, "who earlier supported Yeltsin as the lesser of the evils," were unanimous in their support of the Democratic Reform Movement.

Moscow's Mayor Gavril Popov devoted the main part of his speech to the "real threat to the executive" on the part of the representative authorities. He said "there is a group of tasks around which heterogeneous democratic forces can rally for the duration of the transitional period."

He said these included high priority economic and political reforms. He said he was sure two basic mass trends would inevitably take shape in political life—a Social Democratic trend and a trend leaning on entrepreneurs. He did not specify which of these two the Democratic Reform Movement is likely to join.

Shevardnadze, Yakovlev on DRM Goals

LD2409034391 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Video report by correspondent I. Pankov on the opening of the constituent congress of the Movement for Democratic Reforms in Moscow on 23 September, including recorded remarks by movement founders Eduard Shevardnadze and Aleksandr Yakovlev; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] A constituent conference of the Moscow organization of the Movement for Democratic Reforms [DRM] opened in the capital today. The agenda of the conference includes the adoption of the rules of the Moscow center, and the election of delegates to the movement's interregional congress.

[Pankov] All the same, it was not organizational issues that turned out to be in the center of the conference's attention. It is the view of all the speakers that the greatest threat to the democratic forces is currently posed by the economic crisis in the country. Time, which presses on, makes the situation more and more complicated. There are numerous problems, and one of them is the weakness of the executive authorities—without strengthening them it is not possible to resolve the avalanche of problems, economic and social alike. It is the view of the conference's participants that the Movement for Democratic Reforms ought to become a buttress for an effective executive authority. What are the goals of your movement?

[Shevarnadze] The first one is a democratic renewal of society; a movement, in essence, to be a political force during the period of transition, the transition stage—and our task consists of ensuring a relatively smooth and painless transition toward a new condition of society. Well, in order, as it were, to achieve the implementation of this goal, we must, first and foremost, unite—I have in mind all democrats. I do not have in mind an organizational unification: let various currents, various movements, democratic ones—let them exist, and let them function. But in critical situations, we ought to stand on the same platform.

[Pankov] The main thing is not to waste time, and to get down to tackling specific problems. This idea was the leitmotiv of the conference.

[Yakovlev, addressing the conference] I would regard it as very important that the organizational period of the movement should be combined with tangible deeds, aimed at specific issues to do with people's lives. We have an excellent mastery of criticism. The psychology of destruction is still alive in us, in equal measure as the psychology of intolerance. But we ought to learn now how to work, construct, manage—how to live truthful lives, how to acquire the art of mutual respect and personal dignity, humaneness and freedom. [applause]

Mishin, Kapanets Discuss CPSU Funds

914B0426A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 17 Sep 91 p 2

[Interview with V. Mishin, first deputy administrator of affairs of the CPSU Central Committee, and N. Kapanets, deputy administrator for finance, by S. Sokolov; place and date not given; answers not attributed; published under the rubric "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Investigation: Gold of the Party": "Hopeless as in a Bank"]

[Text] V. Mishin, first deputy administrator of affairs of the CPSU Central Committee, and N. Kapanets, deputy administrator for finance, approached KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA with an offer to speak "the whole truth" about their establishment after our article "Keep Your Money in a Swiss Bank?"—in which a number of versions concerning the bank operations of the CPSU were brought up.

In the course of the interview, the administrator of affairs argued fervently that the party's money is held exclusively in accounts at Soviet banks, both state and commercial, and foreign exchange is kept at the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Relations. The administrators of affairs prepared a small report on CPSU funds especially for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, which they even furnished to us somewhat sooner than to the administration of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president. We must say that compared to information first released on 26 August, the Central Committee funds have increased substantially:

[Mishin] As of 1 January 1991 the balance of CPSU funds in the reserve fund of the party came to 7.7 billion rubles [R]. Of this amount, R5.353 billion were in current accounts in the banks and in the cash boxes of party committees, whereas R2.4 billion were placed in deposit accounts at other banks drawing a certain rate of interest (from four to 16 percent).

Within the same balance of monies in the CPSU reserve fund, R224.8 million in financial investment for developing the production and economic operations of the party were entered as being on the balance sheets of local party organs. Incidentally, we do not rule out that some party committee operating through a joint enterprise with the participation of a foreign partner keeps a certain amount of foreign exchange in its account. However, the party committees could not have generated a lot of foreign exchange, because we began to finance their production and economic activities as late as October 1990. In this year another more than R1 billion was invested in the party's commercial operations.

Incidentally, following the provision of this and other financing, 8.0741 billion remained in the current account of the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs at the Central Administration of Operations of the USSR State Bank as of 10 September.

As of 15 August, 12.4 million foreign exchange rubles were available in the current balance account of foreign exchange at the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Relations.

[Sokolov] Could you enumerate the main sources of party proceeds? What segment did membership dues account for?

[Answer] Previously, dues usually accounted for 55 or 56 percent of all proceeds of the party. Party publishing houses generated another 43 percent. There were also so-called other proceeds generated by the sale of obsolete fixed assets—furniture, transportation vehicles...

The CPSU generated the greatest proceeds in 1989—R2.7 billion. It is expected that this year our proceeds will barely exceed R1 billion. The CPSU budget deficit will come to R1.1 billion.

[Sokolov] All kinds of things are now being said about CPSU financial operations. Could you comment on some of the most persistent talk? In particular, is it true that a radio station in Norway has actually been created by the party and is owned by it?

[Answer] These are rumors.

[Sokolov] Apart from publishing houses, what does the CPSU own? For example, they say that the CPSU owns a segment of defense plants...

[Answer] It is not so. The party owns only publishing houses, country farms, a small furniture plant in Moscow, a repair and construction administration, a motor vehicle pool, and resort facilities.

[Sokolov] As far as I know, the CPSU did not pay taxes on its proceeds until January 1991.

[Answer] It was the same with all public organizations, such as trade unions and the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], for example.

[Sokolov] How true is the talk of entire regions and oblasts transferring funds to the party coffers rather than the state treasury?

[Answer] That's nonsense.

[Sokolov] What were the commercial operations of the party about? Which banking operations did you engage in? What is your view of reports on transfer operations to convert billions of rubles?

[Answer] These are absolutely groundless reports. They are absolutely without foundation. Likewise, it is said that the CPSU sustained fraternal parties abroad. No such aid has ever been provided through the Administration of Affairs. The only things we helped with were the training of cadres, the organization of treatment and recreation, and transportation to Moscow and back. This was paid for by the CPSU Central Committee. Aid was provided in this form only. The CPSU did not engage in any other foreign-exchange operations.

Nothing can remain secret now.

[Sokolov] Please tell us in more detail about commercial enterprises, banks, joint enterprises, and concerns belonging to the CPSU Central Committee. For example, they count the following among them: the Semako Concern, the Vizit enterprise

[Answer] This is absolutely the first time we have heard about Vizit. As far as Semako is concerned, the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs has got nothing to do with it, except perhaps that they rented premises in the building of a city committee of the party. On the whole, information about a tremendous number of joint enterprises set up by the CPSU cannot be serious.

[Sokolov] It is known that virtually all fraternal parties were set up similarly to the CPSU. If so, perhaps the reverse analogy is also true: For example, the German SED had its own commercial enterprise Traveler, through which it siphoned money abroad. What companies has the CPSU set up abroad?

[Answer] This is, once again, merely idle talk.

[Sokolov] What kinds of financial abuses have been recently uncovered by the auditors of the Administration of Affairs?

[Answer] There have been no notorious cases or resounding theft. Cases of using transportation for personal purposes, excesses in construction, and misappropriation of membership dues have been uncovered; in several years, a total of about R100,000 have been misappropriated.

[Sokolov] How do you explain the operation of the Moscow Convention of Entrepreneurs which is prepared to issue rewards to all who would help it to look for the secret financial transactions of the CPSU?

[Answer] You know, any organization in our country may do all it wants, provided it has legitimate grounds, the desire, and the funds. Let them publish just one document confirming all of these rumors. We are absolutely convinced that, putting it mildly, all of this is fiction.

[Sokolov] Could it be that you are simply unaware of some financial operations?

[Answer] We may be unaware of them only if these contracts were financed from other than the party budget. If that is the case, what has the party got to do with it?

[Sokolov] What is your attitude toward nationalizing CPSU property? Are you not scared by this non-court decision? As you see it, how should the transfer of party assets proceed?

[Answer] We believe that Yeltsin's ukase proclaiming all movable property, real estate, and funds belonging to the CPSU to be state property of the RSFSR is an illegal act. There is a glaring contradiction between this ukase and a previous ukase of Yeltsin himself to the effect that court organs should make the final decision, a Gorbachev ukase, and the RSFSR Law on Property. We have approached the Constitutional Oversight Committee for explanations. We hope that the fate of CPSU assets will ultimately be decided in a civilized manner, through the court of arbitration.

At present, we have proof that 90 percent of our fixed assets are indeed the property of the party. Even if the court resolves to transfer our assets to the state, under the law we should be reimbursed for the value of our fixed assets and losses suffered as a result of confiscation.

As you can see, they assure us at the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs that they have no secrets, nor can they. The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA investigation continues. This interview should become a peculiar reference point for the investigation, in the course of which we will either confirm all of the numerous "no's" or...

To begin with, let us try to learn the details of the CPSU's "production and economic operations" in which the Central Committee invested almost R1.5 billion in 1.5 years. After all, the reservation by Nikolay

Kapanets to the effect that he "does not rule out that some party committee keeps foreign exchange in the accounts of its foreign partner in a joint enterprise" is not accidental. The party's rental operations are also interesting: It is known that on instructions from the CPSU Central Committee, local party committees were to rent no less than 40 percent of their premises. It is also curious that purely party commercial banks existed, such as the bank of the former Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, in which the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs deposited R100 million, drawing interest.

Physician Tells of Pre-Coup Events at Foros

PM2309220591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by Aleksey Adzhubey: "'I Could Have Unwittingly Killed the President'"]

[Text] The true story of the arrest in Foros of the country's president is too serious and important to use such a sensational sentence in the headline without weighty grounds for so doing.

It would seem that a certain interval had already elapsed allowing us to more fully encompass the framework of the events: The alarming march of time is taking us further and further from those three days that shook the world, however something brings us back to the shores of the blue sea, to the cliffs and winds of Foros, to what happened at the president's dacha, which none of us have seen. That very dacha which has been the subject of plenty of highly varied rumors.

What?

The lack of clarity.

I hope that what I have set out below will be albeit a small but important link in the quest for the truth.

My interlocutor is Anatoliy Andreyevich Liyev, chief medic at a sanatorium in Kislovodsk. We have been friends for some years. I very much value Anatoliy Andreyevich's skill—he is a splendid neuropathologist and manual therapist. About three years ago he got me on my feet after being in a hopeless state and we have been friends since. Unlike the loud-voiced healers who receive 400 patients a day, Liyev is not so offhand and does not promise the patient an instant miracle. He does not shake the patient about like boys shake apple trees but treats the spine carefully, combines his hands' masterly touch with medicinal procedures, injects the painful areas with the smallest of doses, and blocks out the pain.

Everything that I have said has a bearing on the topic of our discussion.

Needless to say, I knew that Anatoliy Andreyevich treats President Gorbachev, but I never asked him "unnecessary questions." Medical ethics would not allow him to

talk about other people's problems. In other words, this subject was strictly "taboo" for Liyev and me.

When we met in Moscow recently, we decided to breach medical confidentiality in the hope that it would not be detrimental to the president. It is well-known that Mikhail Sergeyevich had an attack of radiculitis.

Thus, Liyev received a telephone call in his office 15 August from the president's dacha in Foros. He was told that Mikhail Sergeyevich would like to see him, there were reasons for this, and he needed help. Liyev replied that he would fly out as soon as he had authorization from his bosses in Moscow since he had strict instructions to bear the Moscow leadership in mind. The people in Foros realized what was up and said that he would receive written orders. With modern communications it could have taken no more than two or three hours. A request from the country's president is no trifling matter! However, no orders arrived 15 or 16 August and insistent telephone calls came in from Foros in severe, irritable tones. "The president needs your help, what are you doing, don't you realize what's at stake?" Liyev realize everything perfectly well, he just could not understand why Moscow was keeping quiet. At that time he could not understand...

Finally, a call came from his bosses in Moscow saying "You can go" and they put the telephone down. Liyev wanted to ask about written orders, swore to himself, and flew out to the president.

He found Mikhail Sergeyevich in an awful mood. A few days before 17 August he had an attack of lumbago while out walking. Someone managed to tell Anatoliy Andreyevich that Gorbachev was virtually carried home. Regrettably, all this is familiar to true martyrs to radiculitic ailments... After the relevant manipulation, Anatoliy Andreyevich eased the pain and Gorbachev was able to get up, sit down, and get up once again. That was reassuring. They agreed to meet again the next day.

Left alone with the president's personal doctor, Liyev asked him to prepare some medicines for the next day's treatment, not all of them were in the Foros medicine dispensary some had to be delivered from Moscow.

A car was ready and waiting for Anatoliy Andreyevich at the appointed time 18 August.

Mikhail Sergeyevich entered the treatment room more cheerfully than before; he himself lay down on the high couch and said that he felt a little better. He added jokingly: "Do what you want: Remove the nerve, a vertebra, even the leg, but I must be in Moscow 19 August."

The requisite medicines had already been prepared. Liyev gave instructions as to the proportions, the mixtures, and order in which the syringes were to be supplied and began work. This operation was a long but virtually painless one. By the end of it the patient had dozed off and the pain had receded. Another meeting lay ahead on

the morning of 19 August before Gorbachev flew to Moscow where he had to sign the Union treaty.

I had the following question for Liyev: Did he notice anything unusual during his two visits to the president, he did visit the dacha, after all? "You simply couldn't help but notice," Anatoliy Andreyevich replied.

When he drove up to the guard zone 17 August, he was struck by the heavy spiked steel strips thrown across the road. Only a narrow thoroughfare had been left. Neither an automobile nor even an armored personnel carrier could get through that kind of obstacle. There were also more State Automobile Inspection officers. A militia vehicle partitioned off the road. "I must say that I put all these 'innovations' down to the unsettled situation in the Crimea," Anatoliy Andreyevich added.

New people appeared in the area divided into three "defensive lines" and there were more military men and civilians with military bearing. There were more requests to see the doctor's identification although a taciturn person with whom Liyev was not previously acquainted was sitting in the vehicle with him. They took the identification, went off into the bushes where the guard's "support posts" were camouflaged, made some enquiries over the radio, and let him through. Liyev noticed another "seaside detail" in the countryside around. Along with the usual border launch, there were three impressive ships carrying navy flags, as it were squeezing it from the sides. So, all the talk saying that the military presence was a regular, that is customary, one is inaccurate, to put it mildly.

Liyev stopped at the "Russian Dawn" sanatorium with his friend and pupil, Doctor Chagodayev, and early on the morning 19 August went to the beach for a swim. The sea lapped at the beach. It was quiet, not a living soul in sight, everyone was still sleeping. A strange man appeared unexpectedly, obviously not on vacation, he was not dressed for the weather, wearing a heavy suit. He sat down and began to talk. "Have you heard (he used the familiar form of address), Gorbachev has 'either been struck down by paralysis or died. It was announced on the radio.'"

"The sun was already very hot, but I felt as if I was bathed in a cold sweat," Liyev said. "I didn't ask the stranger anything else, I jumped up, and ran back to my room. I switched on the television. A symphony orchestra was playing. Then the newsreader read in a funereal voice the statement issued by the State Committee for the State of Emergency. I immediately had the idea: It's nonsense. I saw the president yesterday, I spoke to him, and treated him for a common-or-garden attack of radiculitis and suddenly there's this rubbish. I should go to Foros, perhaps something happened during the night, but why did no one call me then? Is this a provocation? Will the car come or not? I was still unable to take in what had happened, but I realized that I might find myself mixed up in something terrible..."

The car from Foros came on time. Liyev rushed up to it, but he was suddenly pushed away from the door. A tight group of people in civvies quite impudently pushed him further and further away. He was told: "You're not going to Foros. There's nothing for you to do there. Sit in your room and we advise you not to wander around. You'll get your instructions later." Liyev realized that the car's arrival was a kind of fraud. Someone at the dacha had asked "Has the car gone for the doctor?" and got the reply "Yes, of course!"

"But even in that group of people I noticed some wavering," Anatoliy Andreyevich continued. "They were malevolent and insolent types, but also embarrassed ones. Someone whispered to me: 'You won't be helping Gorbachev now...'"

Liyev went to his room. He sat in front of the television. The melancholy music continued.

"That was when a terrifying thought came into my head: Was there something in the medicines that I asked to be sent from Moscow to bring about catastrophe, albeit accidentally?"

Anatoliy Andreyevich began to spin the telephone dial—he wanted to contact Kislovodsk. He was not connected. When he dialed the right number for the last, perhaps, the 25th time, there was a clicking in the receiver and a gloomy voice snapped: "Don't mess with the telephone, there's no connection." And even more rudely: "Drop the receiver."

He sat in his room, devastated, mentally going over what had happened. A little later Chagodayev visited him and showed him Yeltsin's cable to sanatoriums in the Crimea addressed to people's deputies. The cable said that it was necessary to gain access to the president's dacha by all means, to meet with him, and personally ascertain how things stood.

This delegation of Russian people's deputies was formed on the morning of 20 August. Seven men and Dr. Liyev went to Foros.

Anatoliy Andreyevich described the dignity and determination with which the deputies tried to pass through the cordon of guards. They told countless colonels and majors that they were criminals and had no right to prevent people's deputies meeting with the country's president. It was all to no avail. Many said that this was an order, and they were wearing shoulderboards.

Criminal orders are a terrible thing! The new defense minister, Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov, recently gave a splendid answer when asked by a correspondent how this difficult conflict can be resolved: After all under the Statutes a serviceman does not have the right to disobey an order from a senior commander. What is he to do if it is clear that the order is a criminal one? The marshal's response was brief: "The only correct solution is to ensure that no one in the army gives criminal orders."

Former defense minister Marshal Yazov thought differently in August 1991.

Liyev returned to the sanatorium in the afternoon. He decided to somehow obtain a ticket and fly to Kislovodsk. To his amazement, the men in civvies, while still beating about the bush, became more courteous. Yeltsin had already said at an RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session that he had precise data regarding the president's being totally competent and had received information about this. The people's deputies with whom Liyev made his way to the dacha told the Russian president about his having treated Gorbachev for radiculitis.

Anatoliy Andreyevich told me that he felt particularly happy to see how easily Mikhail Sergeyevich came down the aircraft gangway on his return from the Crimea.

You can understand the doctor. He did his job well. It is not his fault that manual therapy got involved with big politics due to dramatic circumstances.

However, does this mean that the imprisonment of the president and his family in Foros has been absolutely cleared up. There is no end to the hypotheses and gossip. One story gives way to another, the thriller cycle deepens. I am not saying this in condemnation—that's pluralism for you—but simply because this has already happened before. Some 27 years ago when a "palace coup" succeeded in October 1964 and Khrushchev was removed from all posts.

Literally the next day a flood of most incredible insinuations rained down on Khrushchev, but the requisite practical criticism was wanting. The slick ready made verdicts are still here which are remote from real, sober assessments. Time not only sorts many things out, but also keeps political anecdotes and tittle-tattle rather than the truth, albeit harsh, in everyday consciousness.

You would have thought that almost 30 years have elapsed since that time in October, but the means and methods used to cut leaders off from reliable information about what is really going on are still amazingly similar. Khrushchev was betrayed by one of his closest advisers, who defected to serve Brezhnev. Gorbachev was subjected to an information blackout long before he became prisoner in Foros. He preferred Boldin to everyone else, including his most worthy comrades in perestroika, rejecting A. Yakovlev and E. Shevardnadze. Not to mention the journalists who were courageous enough throughout this period to write the truth.

I remember some retort that Gorbachev hurled at a restricted [uzkiy] conference was discussed extensively in Moscow. It went roughly like this: "I remember Khrushchev's fate, that won't happen to me." But something far more terrible happened.

The seven years that Khrushchev spent at his dacha in Petrovo-Dalnny were years spent under house arrest, when not only all the rooms, but even the paths in the

park were subjected to all-out bugging. Every visitor who risked coming to see Khrushchev then came under surveillance "from the neighbors"—that was what the establishment on Dzerzhinskiy Square near the Central Committee was called in nomenklatura circles.

There is nothing surprising in how the group of plotters carried out the campaign to imprison the president—impudently and insolently. They are not such artless lambs as to fail to realize what they were doing and what would happen if they failed. That was why they utterly rejected the very idea of possible failure and relied, in addition, on terror, which still oppresses public awareness to this day.

The retreat of this terror, along with the courage shown by Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and those who stood alongside him, and the staunchness of President Gorbachev, do not merely herald a fresh alignment of political forces, but the emergence of the fundamental foundations of our country's democratic development.

I would not like superficial opinions, rash verdicts, and slander to become involved in the complex process of renewal. The lessons of the past and present must serve the future. We very much want there to be no repetition of the alarming adventure of August 1991, and that is a natural desire.

The arrest of the country's president, Mikhail Gorbachev, is being thoroughly investigated. The investigation must be completed without anything being hushed up. This is difficult, complex work and it is too early to dot the i's here.

That can only be done with regard to the radiculitis episode. That episode is clear.

When we said goodbye to Dr. Liyev, he spoke about the finale to his trip to Foros. Only on 23 August did he receive the cable saying that he could fly to the president's dacha that he was so awaiting 17 August in Kislovodsk. He even received three duplicate messages.

Well, better late than never.

Dr. Liyev filed these documents with the report on his trip.

Jewish Cultural Center Planned for Moscow

*LD2409062991 Moscow TASS in English 0016 GMT
24 Sep 91*

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—A Jewish cultural centre, to include a cinema and concert hall, a library and a publishing department, will be established in Moscow.

This idea of representatives of the Soviet Jewish community—war veterans, scientists, writers and actors—was supported on Monday by Soviet Culture Minister Nikolay Gubenko during their meeting.

The meeting focused on urgent measures to restore Jewish burial places, commemorate victims of the Second World War and preserve Jewish cultural heritage.

Meeting participants acquainted themselves in detail with the origin and destiny of the library of Lubavichesky Rabbi I. Sheerson, which was nationalized after the 1917 revolution.

They treated with understanding the stand by the Soviet culture minister, who does not think it possible to agree with the removal of this book collection from the Lenin Library, passing it over to the Agudas Hasidei Habad religious community and taking to the United States.

This will be possible only after a special resolution of the Soviet highest power body or a corresponding court decision, the meeting noted

Media & Journalism

TASS' Future in Post-Putsch Society Examined

PM2409083791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[Report by TASS observer B. Grishchenko: "TASS Is Authorized to State... About TASS' Work"]

[Text] Freedom of speech is the basis and yardstick of true democracy. That is why many people now are not indifferent to the personalities and fate of the mass media. Nor has TASS been overlooked. Our journalist colleagues telephone us, and people far removed from the bustle of our workshop telephone and write to us to find out what changes are taking place in TASS and will society feel them soon?

This attention both gratifies us and imposes commitments. Meeting with the agency's journalists in late August, A. Yakovlev expressed what I think was not only his own viewpoint: In recent years TASS has not been fulfilling the progressive democratic role which it is called on to play. Consequently both the agency itself and its work should be radically restructured. Only a really independent organ of mass information can overcome the former tendentiousness.

The path to independence is not strewn with roses for anyone. That is why we should not be surprised by the sympathetic questions from our journalist colleagues. Even a well informed and busy man like H.D. Genscher, the head of the German foreign policy department, during his recent stay in Moscow was interested in the fate of the news agency and its present status.

Commenting on this at first glance "purely working" episode at a press conference, REUTER recalls: "What was once the Kremlin's official voice—TASS—is today struggling to become an independent organization."

I believe that REUTER is 100 percent right. Both that the TASS journalists collective has set itself the aim of once and for all breaking free from the rigid embraces of the Soviet establishment and that the struggle for the independence wanted for each of my colleagues has already begun and promises to be uncompromising. I shall try to prove this with facts.

The definitive collapse of the state monopoly on information, which was one of the natural consequences of the failure of the August rebellion, faced the TASS colossus with a truly market question: either rapidly switching to the production of qualitatively new output or perishing in the competitive fight with young colleagues from the news service, whose voices are being heeded by an increasing number of information consumers—newspapers and television and radio companies.

Their choice is also influenced by the political identity of TASS which, as the British rightly stress, has since its creation been the official voice of the Kremlin and Staraya Square.

One cannot but agree with them: The one-note melody which the agency has been sustaining for decades can disillusion people. And for the drowsy bureaucracy formed here over decades the agency has received in journalists' circles the unflattering nickname of "the office."

What is being brought by the wind of change which in late August broke into the building of which even the windows could never be opened (incidentally, those are the technical conditions of a centralized air conditioning system)?

Vitaliy Ignatenko, the new general director of TASS, has in my view succeeded in forming a kind of platform for the first, most urgent steps to take the agency out of the deep crisis. This platform was the result of a complex dialogue with the journalists' collective, many of whose demands bore the well-known imprint of maximalism.

In this search we should single out two main avenues: the reduction to a minimum (approximately 10 percent) of the flow of official information (after all, the demand for it undoubtedly remains. Incidentally, not a single state manages without such information and someone must distribute it. But after all even here it is possible to do without a mass of parochial, departmental garbage). The second is the creation of a full-blooded open news line which is the same for clients both inside the country and outside. All the agency's creative potential is now aimed at creating just such a line.

Of course, this requires the radical regrouping of forces and a different cadres policy on the basis of a contract system and much else which we regard as our own internal business. A specific result of the solution of these problems should be financial independence and its

consequence is TASS' openness to society and democratization and the improvement of the professional standard of its work. Here, obviously, is the main thing which people interested in the agency's fate and status would like to know.

Let us realize that it will be very difficult to achieve what has been planned. Especially as the agency's journalists who have decided to bury the "office" forever now need comradely support from their colleagues, toward whom we feel human gratitude for their participation and interest in our fate. Not the fate of those who on the first day of the rebellion furtively, albeit before people's eyes, removed the portraits of the legal USSR president, M. Gorbachev, from the agency's photograph cases, nor of those who called armored personnel carriers to protect their carre against the people, but of those who always saw and still see their moral and professional duty in the prompt and unbiased coverage of our complex and alarming life today.

As a professional I envy the friendly attention with which IZVESTIYA, for instance, is following the quest for a really modern face for the television news program. What could be more useful for a journalist than the benevolent and unbiased assessments of his esteemed colleagues?

But we are of course counting mainly on our own forces. They should be sufficient for the radical perestroyka of work and to repel those for whom it is more convenient and comfortable to use some faceless mouthpiece.

Just a few hours ago I was handed a request from the leader of an important department to be allowed to "read a little" of a TASS report from the latest crucial session "for the purpose of approving it..." I had to refuse: Is it really hard to wait for the newspapers or television programs?

TASS Reviews 24 Sep Central Press

*LD2409065991 Moscow TASS in English 0634 GMT
24 Sep 91*

["Press Review"—TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—The Soviet press today gives prominence to reports about the start of Azerbaijan-Armenian talks to find a solution to a long-standing conflict between the two Transcaucasian republics over the status of the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The negotiations, set up in the north Caucasian spa of Zheleznovodsk with the mediation of Russian and Kazakh Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev, are being held behind closed doors.

Unlike SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, PRAVDA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, which refrain from comments on the progress of the talks,

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA doubts that these will bring about headway in resolving the problem.

In a detailed story headlined "after visiting Nagorno-Karabakh, Yeltsin and Nazarbayev apparently know they ought not have to have gone there in the first place", the newspaper predicts "that the peace-making mission by the two presidents will hardly be crowned with success. The paper says the downbeat forecast is corroborated by similarly unoptimistic views of political scientists and observers in Azerbaijan.

Reporting the outcome of a referendum in Armenia on its future, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA say some 95 per cent of respondents favoured Armenian independence.

The press reports a state of emergency in Tajikistan, imposed by the republican parliament at a special session until the end of the year in the wake of acts of vandalism against monuments to Soviet state founder Vladimir Lenin on September 21 and 22 in the capital Dushanbe and other Tajik cities. Acting Tajik President Kadriddin Aslonov's decree suspending the republican Communist Party and nationalising its property was cited as the pretext for its move by the legislature, which also forced his resignation on Monday.

Describing the situation in Dushanbe as red-hot, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA expresses the view that Tajikistan "is on the verge of civil war".

Newspapers carry reports from Georgia. They say the situation remains tense in the republic's capital Tbilisi, where the opposition demands Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's resignation.

The Soviet daily trade union paper TRUD publishes an interview with Ivan Silayev, chairman of the inter-republican economic committee. He speaks about the aims and immediate tasks of the committee, stressing "the government which administered and even dictated exists no more. The inter-republican committee will enjoy the confidence of all republics".

The Soviet youth newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA offers an interview with Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin, in which he talks about the U.N. General Assembly attended by the Soviet delegation in New York last week.

He said he will have about 50 meetings with state and government heads, including U.S. President Bush.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes excerpts from the book "Deputy's Honour" by Anatoliy Denisov, head of the Soviet parliamentary commission for deputies' ethics. The newspaper calls the book "a deputy honour code, a code of ethic norms and rules not stated in the legislation".

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA offers a discussion of privatisation in Russia by Mikhail Maleiy, Russian deputy prime minister.

He said "the present 99 per cent of state property in Russia should be reduced to 30 per cent. I think it will take us about 15 years. As soon as we achieve this, Russia will become a powerful economic state".

Political scientist Aleksey Kiva believes it will take Russia ten years to "become a great world power", NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA says.

Economic

Conference on Foreign Economic Policy Begins

LD2409040491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] An interrepublican meeting on the issues of foreign economic ties opened in Moscow today. A document was distributed among the participants on the main provisions for the strategy of foreign economic policy, and the economic and political situation which is taking shape. It states that the situation in the area of foreign economic ties is becoming more and more complicated with every passing month. Over the past five years the foreign debt has doubled, and has reached 50 billion [as heard] dollars owed to the countries of the West, and 17 billion dollars owed to eastern Europe, India, China, Egypt, and other countries.

The Bank for Foreign Economic Relations does not have at its disposal any real hard currency resources—not only to pay the foreign debt in its entirety, but also to ensure that payments are made without delay for imported goods and services. There has been a sharp fall in the export of oil and oil products, timber, fertilizers, and ferrous metals. Import in 1991 will amount to probably not more than half the volume of the previous year. This will have its influence, first of all, on the supply of the consumer market with food, medicine, and consumer goods. The situation will become even more complicated next year.

Gennadiy Filshin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic deputy minister for foreign economic ties, said in an interview with an RIA correspondent that in order to even out the situation, it is necessary to transfer a range of functions in carrying out foreign economic activities from the center to the republics. The most expedient way, Filshin considers, is to resolve this task within the framework of an interrepublican body which would work out the provisions of a uniformed foreign economic policy.

Viability of Yavlinskiy Economic Ideas Questioned

PM2309123991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Sep 91 Single Edition pp 1-2

[Report by Gennadiy Yastrebtsov: "State Council Listens to G. Yavlinskiy"]

[Text] As already reported, among the most important questions under discussion at the session of the country's

State Council in Moscow is the draft treaty on economic union. G. Yavlinskiy, who delivered the report, stated that the proposed document's starting point is recognition of the independence of all the union's members as well as of the very grave state of the economy.

As for the profound crisis in our economy, it is an indisputable fact. The classic formula of socialist reproduction—"systematic growth"—is long forgotten.

Today it seems clear to everyone: You cannot run an economy the way we do in this country. The time of the "Egyptian pyramids," of work for its own sake and not for the sake of people, must be consigned to the past. What are we being offered in exchange? The main provisions of the concept according to G. Yavlinskiy are enterprise and private ownership and the free movement of goods and services across the entire territory of the proposed Union.

On prices, the keynote speaker noted the need to coordinate the most rapid movement toward free price formation. As for questions of the labor market and social guarantees, G. Yavlinskiy proposed that the republics and states belonging to the single economic union agree to recognize all educational qualifications obtained in each republic. In that way, it is said, a single labor market will be created—a field for the migration of a vast mass of people across the whole market. Social guarantees, in the economist's opinion, must begin with pensions, because that is a special economic field in our country.

It seems to me that in our country it is not only pensioners who belong to a "special economic field" but also students, servicemen, doctors, teachers, and workers—all those who can hardly make ends meet on their wages. As economist B. Lagutenko publicly stated, Soviet retail prices compared with living standards are 10-30 times higher than in the developed countries for non-food goods, 10-20 times higher for foodstuffs, and 2-4 times higher for services. Our country holds the record in terms of exploitation of the population: From every ruble earned the state takes 70-80 kopeks. And then there are taxes, the turnover tax, for instance—the most antisocial of all. The prime sufferers from that are those people on low incomes, numbering tens of millions in our country: When it comes to buying goods, rich and poor alike for some reason pay the same tax.

In these conditions, therefore, what should we expect from private ownership and free price formation—the kingdom of heaven or the fires of hell? Will we be able to instantaneously restructure and begin reaping the fruits of a civilized rather than savage and absurd economies? I doubt it. G. Yavlinskiy himself quite recently made the following comment: "We find ourselves in a cataclysm of unique intensity. The most important stages which mankind took the past 300 years of modern and present-day history to pass through have coincided, for a number of reasons, in our country today... The world took centuries to do this, but we want to do it almost overnight..."

We are tearing ourselves apart with political, national, and economic contradictions; our country is living as though in a frenzy. Rallies, strikes, demonstrations, the destruction of monuments... In the fields the crops have not been harvested and plants stand idle because economic links have been severed. Which direction are we flying in? The production sphere, like the *peau de chagrin*, is contracting, while the sphere of circulation, distribution, and middlemen is expanding. Will a real market infrastructure be able to exist on such a shaky foundation? After all, the essence of business, as Western businessmen understand it, is to create something that will work successfully over decades. In our country, however, a type of businessman has appeared whose motto is: He grabbed a bit too much and sank "to the bottom"...

Some people are counting on foreign help. It is undoubtedly needed and will be given to us—if certain Western wishes are satisfied. That should not be forgotten. The main burden, if we really want to achieve a breakthrough in the economy, will rest on the shoulders of the people, on your shoulders and mine. So it would be as well to think hard before accepting or praising any of the programs on offer.

Petrov Commentary Examines Economic Reform

LD2309192391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1145 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS international observer Gennadiy Petrov]

[Excerpts] [No place as received] 23 Sep (TASS)—In September, the ruble began to be devalued by 2 to 3 percent per week or 96 to 144 percent annually. [passage omitted]

Now, after the dramatic August events, the people of Russia expect radical measures to save us from the looming disaster. With the support of the center, Russia's example could become attractive for the independent state formations which are intending to preserve the single economic market of the former union.

However, the successful experience of a number of countries shows that harsh economic measures and the destitution of property alone are not enough to transform a depreciated currency into one freely circulating in the financial markets of the world and at the same time for bringing destructive inflation under control. Of important significance for this dual objective is the granting of reserve credits by the leading Western countries and international banks for the creation of a major stabilization fund. Considering the scale of the former USSR, it would have to be in the region of 20 billion dollars.

The setting up of such a fund was discussed at the end of August in Paris, at a conference of deputy finance ministers of the Group of Seven. During the last few days G. de Michelis, Italy's foreign affairs minister, also spoke in favor of implementing this international project. At

the same time, it is emphasized that it is necessary for the republics to achieve an economic agreement, which would make it possible to work out a post-Soviet monetary policy and distribute foreign debt among them.

Turning the ruble into a hard currency could make it easier to carry out deep economic reforms. At the same time, it would give Soviet citizens access to foreign goods, which would in turn boost labor productivity. No less importantly, Western businessmen would be much more willing to invest capital in the former Soviet republics if there were a guarantee that they could export their profits in hard currency.

Republics May Be Faced With Ruble Shortage

OW2409010091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2205 GMT 23 Sep 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report dated 'September 24, 1991'"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The central and national banks of independent republics planning to have their own currencies should conclude early agreements with all other republics on the supply of cash throughout the "transitional period". If such an agreement is not concluded in the near future, "these republics may have serious problems with maintaining the amount of cash in circulation before they issue independent currencies", says USSR State Bank official Yuriy Balagurov.

Independent currencies are going to be issued by the Baltic republics and the Ukraine, the USSR's second republic in terms of population and industrial potential.

The USSR State Bank is against giving republican banks the right to issue cash saying that in that case the "republics will try to deal with their home debt by issuing cash in big amounts".

According to official sources the amount of cash in the USSR grew from 136 billion rubles in January to 193 billion in August.

Commercial Bank Making Credit Cards Available

OW2409022491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2205 GMT 23 Sep 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report dated 'September 24, 1991'"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moscow's Kredobank, a commercial bank founded in 1989 and jointly owned by some 130 state and commercial organizations, is the RSFSR's [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] first bank to receive permission from VISA International to issue credit cards, the weekly "Kommersant" reports.

Both individuals and juridical persons, holding hard currency accounts at Kredobank, will be able to utilize their VISA cards not only at all the hard currency shops and hard currency restaurants in the Soviet Union

(which today number about 1,000), but also at any establishment throughout the world that is equipped to accept payment by VISA.

VISA International sees its main task now as equipping the Russian Republic with the infrastructure necessary to service the holders of credit cards. This would involve providing shops with computer links and setting up a system for processing information by telegraph. The company is willing, its spokesmen say, to invest "larger sums in the Russian economy than they would in other regions of the world."

Railways Ministry Proposes New Management Plan

PM2309161191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by I. Taburyanskaya: "Ministry of Railways Suggests Winding Up...Ministry of Railways"]

[Text] The Committee for the Operational Management of the country's National Economy instructed the Ministry of Railways to formulate its own option for the structure of transportation management in the new conditions. This plan, which was discussed at a session of the Ministry of Railways Collegium, divides the functions of the former transportation department into state and economic functions.

The former are to be handed over to the Committee of Railroad Transport, an interstate body operating under the Interpublic Economic Committee in close contact with the Council of Republic Transportation Ministers. The committee's competence includes resolving juridical and legal issues that arise in the work of railroad transport, formulating new transportation legislation, unified rates and conditions for shipments, along with traffic safety norms, defining rate policy and price fixing, and developing a state program for the sector's development...

For production and economic activity it has been suggested that an interpublic organization be set up in the form of a railroad transport corporation. Its task is to operationally manage the running of the railroads, plan and predict freight and passenger shipments, take responsibility for international shipments, and represent the sector's interests in interstate transportation organizations. It is the general opinion of the Ministry of Railways Collegium that this structure will make it possible to retain the unity of the country's transportation system, which is very important to ensuring its stable operation. The proposals were backed by republic management organs.

Power Supplies Threatened by Fragmentation

PM2309095191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Interview, date and place unspecified, with B. Gorodetskiy, chief engineer at the "Elektromontazh" Specialized Construction Association, by V. Parfenov: "Darkness Ahead? Looming Energy Crisis"]

[Text] The situation in the power generating industry today is serious. And probably the main reason is that during the perestroika years we have sharply reduced the pace at which new capacity is commissioned in the sector. Whereas in the last five-year plan a total of 10-20 million kilowatts of generating capacity was commissioned every year, in the past two years just 5-6 million kilowatts—or half as much—has been brought on stream.

Because of this the energy system is being chronically overloaded and is working at the limit. Whereas the developed Western countries have a 20-30 percent generating capacity reserve, we have just 4-6 percent. Were a major accident to occur, large regions—even entire sovereign states—could be plunged into darkness.

I spoke to B. Gorodetskiy, chief engineer at the "Elektromontazh" Specialized Construction Association. It includes nine large trusts which install electrical and automation equipment at all the stations under construction in the country. He said:

[Gorodetskiy] We have to work in all 15 sovereign republics. In the past 25 years we have worked out a clear plan, and we have specialists and highly skilled workers working for us. The association's trusts, administrations, and sectors are located around the country and had not worried about boundaries until recently. Parts and instruments from a plant in one republic would be sent to many others. In turn, other construction sites received output from their neighbors. Many republics have now officially stated that everything on their territory is the property of the sovereign state. What will happen? Quite simply, the construction of power generating facilities there could grind to a halt. That is why we must not destroy our horizontal economic links. Otherwise the energy crisis will hit everyone simultaneously.

[Parfenov] Figures from the USSR State Committee for Statistics warn us that the amount of electricity produced by nuclear electric power stations [AES] has declined since 1988, whereas in the West the "peaceful atom" is serving people. When will we get over the "Chernobyl syndrome"?

[Gorodetskiy] The general public's negative attitude to AES'es and to all electricity generation has led to the USSR's halting construction and even design work on units for 64 power stations with a total capacity of around 160 million kilowatts. This will push the country backward. For instance, 1 billion rubles [R] has been spent on the construction of the Rostov AES. The

station's first power unit is 95 percent ready and could be brought on stream right now. But if the ban is not lifted, another R300 million will have to be spent mothballing the site. Are we really so rich and well off for power that we can afford this?

[Parfenov] Boris Petrovich, we know about the sad story of the ban on the construction of the Northern TETS [heat and electric power station] near the Moscow beltway. What is the situation there?

[Gorodetskiy] A year ago the Moscow City Soviet needed three days of debate to shut down construction. This summer the "Greens" even burned two excavators on the site. Construction of this TETS, which would use the most modern equipment and burn natural gas, has been marking time for an entire year. And it is only now that people have suddenly realized that, if the Northern TETS is not built, Muscovites in many rayons will have to wear their coats throughout the winter. The Moscow government has now made the healthy decision to urgently resume construction.

[Parfenov] You are probably aware of the power outages which a number of U.S. states went through in 1965, when many cities were plunged into darkness. What can we learn from that bitter experience?

[Gorodetskiy] A commission set up at the time to investigate this disaster concluded that it was necessary to urgently centralize the administration of power systems. And, despite the fact that this ran counter to the interests of certain states and entrepreneurs, the decision was rapidly and firmly implemented, and that saved the country.

Our state, in the grip of political rhetoric about sovereignty and independence, should firmly remember that dividing up our power generation networks would be tantamount to destroying the nerves of a living organism. If we do this we could be left without heat or light.

Poll Shows Majority 'Happy' With Their Jobs

OW2409071091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
0624 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to a poll carried out by the National Public Opinion Studies Centre (VCIOM), 71 percent of Soviet people are happy with their jobs. 22 percent said they disliked their occupations. 7 percent found it hard to answer. 61 regard themselves as medium-class specialists, 24 percent feel they are highly qualified, 6 percent estimated their skills as low, 9 percent failed to give a definite answer.

The poll shows 45 percent of the respondents having a full chance to realize their professional potential, 39 percent—only part-chance, 7 percent—no chance at all. A tenth of the respondents failed to answer.

The poll was held in July among 3,003 respondents, on a nation-wide selection, reported by the news agency DATA. The admissible error is 3 percent.

Agricultural

Ministry Reports Harvest Progress as of Mid-Sep

914A1221A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
20 Sep 91 p 1

[Unattributed article: "On the September Field: The News Center of the USSR Ministry of Agricultural Production Reports"]

[Text] According to data of the USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] 85.1 million hectares of grain and leguminous crops were threshed—that is, 84 percent of the area sown. In the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] 83 percent of the grain has been threshed, in Kazakhstan 77 percent, in the Ukraine 96, and in Belorussia 95.

There have been 142.6 million tons of grain threshed, and the average yield is 16.8 quintals per hectare. But only 32.3 million tons have been purchased for state reserves, including 17.8 million from the Russian Federation, 1.7 million from Kazakhstan, 10 million from the Ukraine, and 1 million tons from Belorussia. On the whole the state order has been 42 percent fulfilled.

The harvest of fiber flax is close to completion. The sowing of winter crops is 64 percent complete. Autumn plowing has been carried out on 41 million hectares compared to 24 million last year.

Of the potatoes, 45 percent have been dug up, including 53 percent in the Russian Federation. The pace of the potato harvest is faster than last year's, and 101 quintals of the tubers are being obtained per hectare on the average. City residents are helping out the countryside in a more organized fashion than last year, and an increased wage is being applied.

Vegetables have been harvested from 365,000 hectares—this is a little more than a third of the area sown. Work is being slowed by a shortage of packaging and transportation. Processing enterprises are often idled because of the absence of glass jars.

The kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] have begun the mass harvesting of beets. More than 8 million tons of the root have been dug up, 5 million of them have been sent off for processing, and 200 factories out of 318 are carrying out processing. The first 180,000 tons of sugar have been manufactured.

Corn for grain and sunflowers are being harvested, and in Central Asia, Azerbaijan, and southern Kazakhstan rice and cotton are being harvested.

State purchases of fodder continue. In all, 89.8 million tons of fodder units of coarse and succulent fodders have been laid up—11 quintals per conventional head of cattle.

The situation with provision of materials and equipment to the countryside remains poor. Much equipment is idling because of a shortage of spare parts and fuel and lubrication materials.

Scientific

State Council Supports Academy of Sciences

PM2309151991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with Academician V. Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by correspondent K. Smirnov; place, date not given: "Do We Give the Academy to America or Keep It?"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA correspondent K. Smirnov asked Academician V. Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to describe the course of the State Council discussion of scientific problems and give his personal impressions.

[Kudryavtsev] Chairman Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev began by saying that the present state and the future of academy science are not only worrying scientists: The press is now writing a great deal about it, and this important question for society must certainly be resolved in good time.

G. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said that these worries are not unfounded. There is no certainty that the Union Academy will survive. It is not clear how it will be funded. Lastly, its relations with various state departments are not stable. There is talk of winding it up and confiscating its property. Its relationship with the Russian Academy of Sciences is unclear.

Ye. Velikhov, vice president of the country's Academy of Sciences, described various options for restructuring it. Under one it would remain a Union organization. According to another (Yevgeniy Pavlovich himself hews to this), it would be transformed into the Russian Academy of Sciences—it is after all largely located on Federation territory and is in fact the successor to the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Academy Vice President A. Logunov spoke very emotionally, saying that it was intolerable to be so barbaric and to shatter our great science—our supreme common asset.

The following took part in the Council discussion: A. Nikonov, president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences; V. Pokrovskiy, president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences; and A. Aleksandrov, a former president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and adviser to its presidium.

Republic leaders A. Akayev, A. Mutalibov, N. Nazarbayev, L. Kravchuk, and I. Silayev voiced their opinions. The general sense of the speeches was as follows: We have great respect for basic science, and there can be no question of its being cut back or the Union Academy's being closed—the Academy has, incidentally, traditionally helped resolve republic problems and is continuing to do so.

When someone hurled the rejoinder that the Americans are willing to provide financial aid to ensure that the USSR Academy of Sciences is not destroyed (so that our Academy would work for them in that case—since we have no need of it), this provoked a fairly stormy and unanimous reaction: We will never agree to this humiliation and will of course find the money to fund and supply our science with everything it needs.

I. Silayev voiced the Russian leadership's attitude to the idea of an RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Academy of Sciences: The Federation's Supreme Soviet has decided to set it up, it will be set up, there will be elections in December, and if any scientific centers, institutes, or scientists want to transfer from the USSR Academy of Sciences to the Russian Academy, that will be welcomed. But there was full support for keeping the Union Academy of Sciences and developing unified fundamental sciences within the new community of sovereign states.

My general impression of the session was quite positive: Union and republic authorities definitely guaranteed the enduring nature of the Academy and fundamental science. I would say that members of the State Council even spoke somewhat ironically of our fears for the future of the Academy and science. Do you really suspect us of wanting to break up the Academy, they said?

But virtually all Union and republic leaders spoke without irony and quite firmly of the need to change the scientific climate in the country, democratize science, relieve it of bureaucratic structures, and move the center of gravity to institute collectives.

Nonetheless I think that the discussion was more general than I would have liked. At any rate there were two very major questions that were not fully cleared up.

The first was the question of funding and a basic research fund. Assurances were given that no one would allow funds for science to be cut. This year that cannot happen. But nothing was decided or said outright about science receiving as many specific billions of rubles next year. And what proportion each republic is prepared to put into the common fund.

Admittedly, M.S. Gorbachev suggested supplementing the economic agreement between the republics with a scientific and technical agreement that would provide a specific solution to the question of funding and an all-Union basic research fund.

The second question was: What is to be done with the Russian Academy? In effect, neither of the two options that Ye. Velikhov mentioned was accepted or rejected (both won support during the discussion).

Finally Mikhail Sergeyevich summed up roughly as follows: Fundamental science must undoubtedly be preserved and consolidated. As for its organizational forms, it is necessary to do what scientists themselves agree on.

Military

Shaposhnikov Comments on Withdrawal From Baltics

PM2409094591 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 24 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Major A. Yegorov and correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Dokuchayev: "USSR Defense Minister's Press Conference"]

[Text] On 20 September in the USSR Foreign Ministry press center, Aviation Marshal Ye. Shaposhnikov answered questions from Soviet and foreign journalists concerning a very broad spectrum of defense problems: from nuclear weapons tests to the military budget to the democratization of relations in the army.

The defense minister answered your KRSNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent's questions:

[KRSNAYA ZVEZDA] The problem of the lack of social protection is one of the most urgent among officers. What does the Defense Ministry intend to do to ensure that the military man feels not verbally but in deeds that he is necessary to the country and society?

[Shaposhnikov] We are already taking certain measures. Servicemen's pay is being increased and income tax is being repealed. Officers and generals will begin to receive this 30-40 percent increment as of 1 October. To accelerate the solution of the housing problems, the sums allocated are being supplemented by funds obtained as a result of redistribution within the military budget for capital construction—a large part of the money earmarked for the erection of military establishments (and that is a substantial sum) will go on housing. There are also proposals for monetary compensation, cooperative construction, and the prompt allocation—within two to three years of discharge—of plots of land for construction, with aid being rendered not only with money but also with materials...

[KRSNAYA ZVEZDA] The Baltic republics and Moldova are insisting on the speediest and complete withdrawal of units and formations deployed on their territories. Within what deadline can this withdrawal be effected and will it not be like the withdrawal of troops from the East European countries—to places unprepared for service and living?

[Shaposhnikov] The question of the withdrawal of troops from the Baltic is a legitimate one. But I would

not like to begin it before 1994 because we shall be engaged in the withdrawal of troops from East Europe. The deadline for withdrawal will be determined by an interstate agreement. As for Moldova, so far it does not have the same status as the Baltic republics.

Gorbachev Establishes Military Reform Committee

LD2109171191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program
Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has signed a decree on the establishment of the committee for the preparation and implementation of military reform at the USSR State Council. Army General Konstantin Kobets is appointed chairman of the committee. He is to table his proposals on the powers, organizational structure, and material and technical provision of the committee.

Military Historian on Armed Forces Reforms

LD2209131491 Moscow Radio Moscow in Czech
1800 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Excerpts] A reorganization of armed forces has been drawn up and in essence started in the Soviet Union. It has deep roots. I believe that the adoption in 1987 of the [words indistinct] doctrine marked its beginning, says Major General Mikhail Monin, a military historian. Since then substantial changes have been initiated and pursued in the Soviet Union's military policy. [Passage omitted]

The bill on global military reform is however still ahead of us, General Monin continues. At present it is the subject of a stormy debate. Voices can be heard saying that its drafting should be speeded up. The press has published two drafts of the reform. One of them was drawn up by the Defense Ministry while the alternative draft was drawn up by a group of Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Any Soviet citizen can take part in the debate on the bill. The Supreme Soviet Defense and Security Committee prefers the Defense Ministry's draft, albeit with substantial and important amendments.

When will the new bill be debated and approved? Originally it was planned to take place at the recent meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet in August. It was then however decided that it would be better to do so after the Union treaty was signed. After all, the problem of the military reform concerns the interests of both the whole Union and each sovereign republic.

What aims will the Soviet Armed Forces pursue in the military reform? Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the new defense minister, summed them up in four words: professionalization, quality, democratization, and sufficiency.

The meaning of professionalization of the Army and Navy is clear. I would only add that the international

military and political situation and the country's scientific and technological possibilities, which are rather subjective, will have to be taken into account.

Regarding the quality, what is in mind is above all an improvement of the technical equipment of troops and the life of the military (?personnel). As far as democratization is concerned, I should stress that the problem of establishing the armed forces of some democratic institutions, openness and glasnost in the life of the Army and Navy has been in essence raised for the first time in our country. The principle of sufficiency lies in effect in the creation of nothing that is unnecessary but only what is essential to deter aggression, and not at all for offensive actions.

I should like to further stress, General Monin writes, that the reform will also encounter difficulties: the crisis state of the Soviet economy, finances, raging of separatist and in places nationalist passions, a very complicated redeployment of Soviet troops from Germany, Poland and Mongolia, a rather complicated conversion of enterprises, and many others. But the attempt made by the plotters of the putsch to usurp power has markedly underlined the necessity of military reform, the precise determination of the place the Soviet armed forces should have in our society and their responsibility toward the people.

Today it is clear as never before that the process of reform must not only be speeded up but also intensified, taking into account the sovereignty of Union republics and excluding the possibility of using the army in ethnic conflicts.

There is one more very important aspect to which Mikhail Gorbachev pointed during his conversation with a delegation of the Socialist Internationale in Moscow on 17 September. [words indistinct]. The Soviet President remarked that in essence representatives of 11 republics had spoken in favor of amalgamated forces. Regarding military strategic potential, the understanding prevails in this area that it must be in one hands, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed.

Nuclear Arms in New Soviet Society Examined

PM2009134491 Moscow NEW TIMES in English
No. 33, 20-26 Aug 91 pp 8-10

[Article by Konstantin Pleshakov: "To Avert a Real Or Imaginary Danger"]

[Text] "If I command that my General should turn into a seagull and he does not fulfill my order it will be my fault, not his", said the King in The Little Prince by Antoine de Saint-Exupery. It is opportune to keep this maximum in mind when we talk with military people or about them.

More and more often we demand that generals turn into sea-gulls, which, naturally, infuriates them. And that, in turn, angers us. Strictly speaking, only one thing may

rouse indignation: a general's desire to turn into a dragon. We cannot demand that all generals should suddenly become pacifists. We can and must revise the basis of our military-industrial complex, but we should not forget one thing: the military-industrial complex needs us and we need it too. What for, and what kind of—this is the question.

Another question in this connection is: are nuclear tests necessary or not? This is only part of the problem, as is a moratorium on nuclear weapons testing. The problem is that we badly need a new military doctrine in principle.

Civilians alone, "without generals," cannot work out a military doctrine. Moreover to begin with, we should carry out a major nation-wide campaign of reappraising currently existing doctrines.

Striking Back at Our Own Shadow

Our military doctrine can be called none other than "striking back at our own shadow." It was stated, in the Kremlin and in the White House, that the USSR and the United States do not regard each other as enemies any longer. But Soviet and American missiles are still aimed at each other's territories, and plans of military operations still lie in wait. A military doctrine changes not when political leaders pay pleasant compliments to one another, but when the practical tasks of armies are changed entirely. According to the people who create nuclear weapons and who published their article in No. 26, 1991, we are, indeed, prepared "to preserve a sufficient retaliation potential". Whether we are prepared or not is a different subject. The flight of Mathias Rust demonstrated the unpreparedness of the military. Nevertheless, we still regard Western countries as our enemies and use our basic means and efforts "to resist" their aggression. It is permissible to ask: whose aggression shall we resist?

Can anyone in his right mind and in full possession of his faculties state that a Western country will deal the Soviet Union a blow or will invade the USSR? Let's not ask silly questions like, for instance, is Norway going to attack the Soviet Union. But those people who allege that today, in the conditions of disarmament, there are capabilities for a preemptive strike by the enemy (see the above-mentioned article—Ed.) should be quite honestly considered either very naive, or very cunning. The targets on Soviet territory are marked on the maps of the US Command. Why? To repel Soviet aggression. Missiles are no longer targeted at East European countries, because they have made their choice: peace. The three Baltic Republics of the USSR are not being targets any longer, because of their de facto separation from the Soviet Union. But the USSR still evokes fear, and the actions of the army sometimes seem uncontrolled. We cannot exclude the possibility of the seizure of power either by a dragon-general (attempts were made already) or an orthodox Bolshevik (witnessed such attempts, too) or a populist of the National-Socialist type (one of them

even came in third in the July 12th Presidential election in Russia). And then we might again witness the confrontation of the cold-war period. So, Western countries do not threaten us. It should be admitted that theoretically we can be a threat to Western countries.

China was another bugbear of our military doctrine. But who would say, with his hand on his heart, that China will unleash a war against the USSR? The existence of our military-industrial complex can be explained only by a potential danger of attack. Whose attack from the East are we to resist? That of China or Japan? Maybe that of the United States which has equipped its submarines with the "highly accurate first-strike Trident-2 missiles"? If we stop playing games (like the recent one with the call-up of university students to the army) and evaluate the situation from a realistic point of view, we shall see that in the Far East, for instance, we keep a huge military grouping without the slightest need for it.

Defence Minister Grechko Remained in His Office

In the past Western countries had unlimited opportunities for launching a war against the USSR. When Stalin impudently blockaded West Berlin, in 1948, Western countries opened an airlift supplying Berliners with food and fuel, and deployed troops on the border. But they did not resort to air raids. When Kim Il Sung, Stalin, and Mao Zedong unleashed the Korean war, in the 1950s, there had not been US troops in Korea for a while, and the United States had to undertake an emergency landing on the Pusan beachhead to liberate the south of the peninsula. The border areas of the People's Republic of China alone were bombed although none other than China actually was fighting that war in Korea. General MacArthur spoke about the use of nuclear weapons against China. That was not done. Moreover, Douglas MacArthur was dismissed. By the way, Marshal Grechko of the USSR suggested a preventive nuclear strike against China during the 1969 conflict. And that did not cost him his post of Defence Minister.

When we brought our troops to Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan Western countries did not do anything. In its time of troubles China did not flood the Baikal area with the excess of its population. History has shown, thus, that the existence of threat from the West or from China was exaggerated. Any totalitarian regime needs the existence of some rapacious and dangerous enemy. If no such enemy actually exists, it is invented.

Some people may say that no one attacked the USSR because it was strong. But then, Panama and Granada were attacked. Only those people who have not the slightest idea of the American way of thinking can say such things. Relations with Central American states are a special point. Meanwhile, its political and economic interests affected, the United States did not interfere in Mid-East developments until the UN sanction.

Shall We Disarm Unilaterally?

Maybe those people are right who demand the Soviet Union's unilateral disarmament (in the nuclear field, at least?)

No, they are not, notwithstanding the fact that many stereotyped "dangers" are exaggerated. There is no stability, so far. I would say that stability is that feature of a system, which helps it retain its basic qualitative traits. The world order of the cold war period was stable. The regime of Stalin was stable. The regime of Kim Il Sung was also stable until just recently. The situation in the USSR and China and the new world order are extremely unstable. Unfortunately, we cannot hope for their improvement in the near future.

More than a year ago political scientist Francis Fukuyama published an article *The End of History?* in which he wrote that crisis situations in the world would be insignificant in comparison with the failure of socialism. Many people treated Fukuyama's conclusions with distrust. They noted that it was not yet the end of history and that history would greatly surprise the world. They were right. The public gasped with surprise when Saddam Husayn invaded Kuwait. He would not have done that during the cold war. At present he ventured this, hoping to snatch his slice, having seen the breakup of the many-year stability of confrontation (confrontation can be stable or unstable).

A new stage in history begins. After socialism's agony, naturally fraught with the most unpleasant consequences, the time of new aggressors, that is, new Third-World centres of power, has come. Iraq is merely the first. I shall not mention all of them. You can find them in any region of the world.

A pacifist may say: "To hell with them! Let the Americans look into that themselves." This is wrong. The weak Soviet Union will be a hostage of these new potential aggressors even more so, as most of them are in Eurasia, along the USSR's border. A pacifist may say that Iraq or Iran will not occupy the USSR. Of course Iraq or Iran will not reach Ryazan. But we should not forget about the situation in Azerbaijan belongs to Iran. Shiism is widespread in both Azerbaijan and Iran. Iran is the stronghold of Islamic fundamentalism. Kurds live everywhere, including Transcaucasia. Armenia is at war with Azerbaijan. Armenia has traditionally tragic relations with Turkey. The Azerbaijanians more and more often identify themselves with the Turks. It is very easy to get tangled in these knots of a millennial oriental carpet. This is but one example. We should bear in mind that the USSR or its successors will be responsible for the geopolitical area of the present USSR, no matter how strongly hated the idea of community might be.

The size and might of our army should be contemplated thus, bearing in mind that Western countries and China spell no danger, and that we should not forget about a threat from new centres of power. That size and might will be determined by military experts, those generals

whom we command to turn into sea-gulls, instead of entrusting a clear task to them.

Now, let us turn to the problem of nuclear weapons. There would be no problem if only the USSR and Western countries existed in the world. Unilateral nuclear disarmament would become possible then. But when we are amidst the turbulent Third World and when the peak of its development is still ahead, complete nuclear disarmament is utopian and dangerous, as any Utopia is. Nuclear weapons should remain along our Eurasian border, as a deterrent. Nuclear testing is needed in order to prevent those weapons from becoming obsolete and unfit for deterrence. At any rate, a testing site should not necessarily be a graveyard, as is the case with our country. Nuclear testing in Nevada, for instance, does not frighten Americans away from Las Vegas with its entertainments.

Republics Have the Right to Their Share

Life is not so easy or simple, however. The USSR is disintegrating. Nobody will see Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia within it any longer. I have a strong suspicion that Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, and, perhaps Azerbaijan will also secede. What will become of nuclear weapons then? This problem is more complicated than that of nuclear testing.

Strictly speaking, each former Union Republic has the right to its share of nuclear weapons, tanks, aircraft, and naval forces. At the same time, the scattering of the nuclear potential and even the conventional military potential is fraught with dangers which can easily be imagined. True, some of the republics, showing good will and common sense, relinquish their share of nuclear weapons. But why should all republics give the entire military potential, including nuclear, to the USSR or to the Republic of Russia to some extent, which will be its successor in the case of complete disintegration? Therefore, notwithstanding the desire and, perhaps, the expediency of isolating themselves in national areas, the USSR should remain a geopolitical and military reality, even if it loses all other functions. The last Premier in the history of the USSR, no matter how stout the man might be, will be given his life-size bust of gold, to encourage him to leave his post. The Council of Ministers will sink into oblivion. The all-Union Parliament will become exactly what it has been persistently trying to become, that is, a harmless talking-shop. All practical matters will be done in the Republics.

Even if all this happens, the USSR will remain a military bloc. Maybe it will lose the Baltic Republics, maybe not, if the problem is tackled in a civilized way. It will be a military bloc with a joint command and the Republics' right of veto in regard to military operations, in general, and the use of nuclear weapons, specifically.

If we do not think about all this in earnest, in the near future we may be confronted with dilemmas which will make current discussions about nuclear testing seem like small talk.

Let us not order generals to turn into sea-gulls. We will need generals for years to come. We shall not be able to do without them. Who knows, maybe just now a period of a real, not imaginary, threat to our security begins. Of course, it is not the reason for maintaining the same huge army and taking from the dying country its last crumbs to be spent on missiles. But nor is it a reason for saying a farewell to arms. Our task today is, together with our generals, thoroughly to assess the situation when there is no threat from the West and when we should not forget about our Eurasian border.

'Who Is Closest to the Nuclear Button'

PM2109100591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Article by A. Pokrovskiy under "Fact and Commentary" rubric: "Our Worrying Command Post. Who Is Closest to the Nuclear Button?"]

[Text] The sovereignty confusion over the statements from various republics about nuclear weapons is incredibly worrying. Some dream of becoming nuclear-free zones. That would be a good idea—but what will we do with existing installations? "Put them on our territory," others reply. Others have a different verdict: No military formations can be redeployed from a republic's territory or military hardware removed without the agreement of the republic's cabinet of ministers.

Let's take a closer look at what is in question. I once visited a Strategic Rocket Forces command post located, incidentally, outside of Russia. And whenever I hear the abstract arguments used by various politicians, I recall that special, rather otherworldly place. With its own power supply (with one or even two backup units), its own air circulating through a special purification system, its own water pumped from artesian wells, and its own sterile, unearthly silence. In order not to break that silence, details come on duty in soft shoes, but even those gentle steps are muffled by the thick carpeting around the consoles.

There is also a particular psychological mood. It was not so long ago that I visited a detail, but I literally felt in my bones the tension reigning at the command post—even though it seems that all there is to do is monitor the instruments. I could see how drawn the guys were when they came off duty. But the main thing is that all the features of this command-post world are interrelated. Breaking with one of them would mean disrupting the normal course of duty—and that, God forbid, could result in a storm which would deafen the globe forever. No, of course, strict measures are in place to insure against any accidents. Insofar as I understood it, a coded order has to be received before anyone touches the "button." Then both members of the detail must simultaneously open safes with sealed envelopes. Then...clearly, I cannot tell you everything.

I would only add that the command post controls more than just one missile or one warhead. It controls several

so-called individual launch areas located around the command post. That night we visited one of them. We passed through the barbed-wire fence and an armed guard to a clear area comprising a thick concrete slab. The missile was underneath. But at zero hour a special charge moves the slab and the missile can start its terrible journey...

"Do you know where your missiles are targeted?" I asked the detail.

"Of course not," they said. "That is known at the very highest level. We only know that if one of the silos needs any routine maintenance we have to inform headquarters ahead of time—clearly, the target in question has to be covered by another missile."

It is hard writing about all this. It is even hard thinking that necessity or evil intent may one day move those sinister concrete slabs out of position. But as long as there are nuclear weapons, we should not rule out that possibility. The only radical solution is to completely and totally ban such weapons. But for the time being we must move carefully toward that situation along the winding path of intricate international relations and domestic confusion. We can therefore understand why both M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin were keen to assure their foreign partners that the nuclear buttons are under central control. Admittedly without specifying how this

would work in practice in the light of the republics' ambitions. The republics have already issued statements about wanting dual control...

That is why I was particularly interested in reading the TASS report about the conference, hosted by Soviet Defense Minister Ye. Shaposhnikov, of high-ranking leaders from all 15 former union republics. Their decision is hopeful—strategic nuclear forces should remain in unified hands, and the collective security system should be preserved. One is admittedly confused by a rather unclear point in these decisions: The sovereign republics are the legal successors to all the international treaties and agreements signed by the Union, including those on arms reduction. And one is also quite chary of the opinion expressed by T. Yundzis, chairman of the Latvian Parliamentary Commission for Defense and Internal Affairs—and again carried by TASS—that Shaposhnikov was not seriously prepared to talk with Baltic representatives.

I do not consider myself sufficiently competent to make specific proposals in this major and terrible area. I am merely sharing my views with readers out of my duty as a journalist. Perhaps more extensive information about previously secret facilities will help us all to acquire the state wisdom which our long-suffering country needs so much.

Baltic Affairs

Interrepublic Economic Accords Signed in Tallinn

LD2109030891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English
2130 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] A two-day consultative meeting of heads of governments of the Baltic states, Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and other former republics of the Soviet Union ended in Tallinn today. The meeting focused on principles of economic relations. Lithuania was represented by Vice Prime Minister Vytautas Pakalniskis, Minister of Economics Albertas Simenas, and heads of some other ministries.

The delegations of the 12 countries signed documents on economic and financial relations, as well as on cooperation in the spheres of transport and communications. According to Vice Prime Minister Vytautas Pakalniskis, the documents are of a declarative character, yet significant in that they mark orientation towards a new type of economic relations.

Representatives of the Baltic states also met in Tallinn today with Director General of the UNESCO Mr. Federico Mayor Zaragoza, who invited Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to join that international organization. Mr. Zaragoza said that already in October a UNESCO conference could be held in one of the Baltic states.

Baltic Leaders Request IMF, World Bank Aid

OW2309224391 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1900 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The prime ministers of the three Baltic states have launched a request today to the world's leading financial bodies of aid in their transition to market economy. The premiers of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia—Ivars Godmanis, Gedeminas Vagnorius, and Edgar Savisaar—have met today, Sept 23, in Tallinn with spokesmen of the World Bank, IMF, EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development], and the Investments Bank of the Nordic countries.

At the press-conference on Monday evening the spokesmen failed to name any concrete sums to be advanced to the Baltic countries as aid or credit. The World Bank's officials said it was too early to specify priorities or concrete sums. The IMF men expressed an opinion that experts should assess credits and investments for various branches of economy.

On Monday the Baltic premiers signed a protocol on their wish to participate in the work of the Baltic Investments Bank [BIB]. According to the president of the Nordic countries Investments Bank Jannik Lindbaek, such a bank is suggested as the key to the investment banking system of the three countries—Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The BIB is expected to operate outside the Baltic area, maybe in Finland. The aim of

that projected system (specific plans for it have been drawn) is in channelling large investments by major banks and financial institutions into projects built in the Baltic countries. The basic capital is to be up to 600 m [currency not specified]—enough to back small and medium businesses in Baltia. The bank will finance projects to produce exports, and also support the private sector.

Baltic Council Views Finances, Customs Controls

OW2409111391 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1010 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Baltic Council convened for a session in Tallinn on Tuesday on the level of prime ministers from the Baltic republics.

According to the press service of Estonia's Government, the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian premiers Edgar Savisaar, Ivars Godmanis, and Gediminas Vagnorius are discussing issues connected with customs control and the system of mutual settlements and finances. They'll also consider the possibilities of cooperation between the Baltic republics and international financial organizations. As the Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis suggested, the agenda of the conference includes the question of opening and financing the Baltic countries' missions abroad.

A spokesman for the press service said that the possibility of reaching an agreement on their joint financing is not ruled out.

At 14:30, a press conference on the results of the session will take place.

Subsequently the prime ministers of Baltic countries will resume their consultations with the leaders of international financial organizations begun, as BF [BALTFAX] reported earlier, in Tallinn on Monday.

Estonia

Russia Protests Tallinn Border Reexamination Plan

LD2109183591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1644 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 20 Sep (TASS)—Representatives of Russia, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, who are participating in a meeting of the heads and representatives of governments in Tallinn, have released a statement in which they express their bewilderment at the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution in which the acts of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium on border issues are declared to have no legal force.

This resolution was adopted on 12 September 1991, and it affects the acts according to which land was allotted to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] (Leningrad and Pskov oblasts) during the postwar years in the rayon of Chudskoye Lake and on the right bank of the Narva River.

The Russian, Moscow, and St. Petersburg representatives' bewilderment was aroused by the article in the resolution which states that the issue of the border between Estonia and the RSFSR is to be resolved through negotiations between Estonia and the USSR, with the participation of representatives from the Russian Federation. In their view, it is tactless for Estonia to give Russia a secondary role in the resolution of its own border issues.

Finland Asked To Mediate

LD2109231291 Moscow TASS in English 2255 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Arkadiy Prisyazhniy]

[Text] Helsinki September 21 TASS—Estonian Minister for Ethnic Minority Affairs Artur Kuznetsov has proposed that Finland mediate the solution of territorial differences between Estonia and Russia.

He said in an interview published by the USSI SUOMI newspaper today that talks with Russia were the only way to realize the Estonian parliament's decision to renounce the incorporation of Estonian lands into the Pskov and Leningrad regions of the Russian Federation under the 1940 and post-war decisions, as well as to reestablish Estonia's eastern borders within the framework of the 1920 Tartu Treaty.

However, neither the Russian Government, nor the Soviet leadership has so far reacted to the decision of the Estonian parliament. In this situation, Finland might help Estonia and Russia with advice, consultations and mediation in settling their disputes, the minister noted.

Kuznetsov said that adjusting contacts with Russia is a high priority direction of Estonian politics. He stressed that Finland's experience in establishing good interrelations with non-indigenous residents, which are in majority on some regions of that country, might become invaluable in solving similar problems in Estonia.

Interim Accord With St. Petersburg

LD2209105991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Talks between Estonian and St. Petersburg delegations have taken place in Narva-Joesuu. Here is our correspondent in the city on the Neva, Denis Gurinskiy:

[Gurinskiy] Consultative talks between Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and Yuriy Yarov and Aleksandr Belyayev, chairmen of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet and of the St. Petersburg City Soviet, have taken place in the

Estonian town of Narva-Joesuu. Vladimir Vorozheykin, chief administrator of Leningrad Oblast Soviet executive committee affairs, who attended the talks, told me that the talks dealt with hammering out a common approach to a Russian-Estonian cooperation treaty, which will be signed soon.

There was also discussion of measures which the authorities in Estonia, Leningrad Oblast, and St. Petersburg must take to step up interregional economic relations. According to Vorozheykin, territorial issues were not raised at the meeting. Savisaar, however, was informed by Yuriy Yarov of an increase in social tension in areas of Leningrad Oblast bordering Estonia, following a statement from the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium that this territory should be returned to the jurisdiction of Estonia.

According to Vorozheykin, the heads of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet and soviets in areas of Leningrad Oblast bordering on Estonia are unanimous that a territorial review of borders between the Russian Federation and Estonia is unacceptable.

It was also announced at the talks that a treaty on administrative and territorial borders between Estonia and Russia will be signed soon. As a result of the discussion, a temporary protocol was signed between Estonia and Leningrad Oblast on cooperation until an Estonian-Russian intergovernmental agreement is signed. The protocol stipulates that between now and 25 September a joint conciliation commission should be set up to regulate border relations.

The protocol was signed, on the Estonian side, by Edgar Savisaar, and on the Russian side, by Yuriy Yarov, chairman of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet, who had authority at the talks from Ruslan Khasbulatov.

Minister of State on Border Issue

LD2309195891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Interview with Estonian Minister of State Raivo Vare by correspondent Ain Saarna; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Saarna] Raivo Vare, Republic of Estonia minister of state: During this sixth meeting in Tallinn, as on previous occasions, you were the leader of the event, so to speak. [passage omitted]

Yet some problems exist and there is no escaping them. At the news conference after the meeting, the chairman of the St. Petersburg soviet made a statement in which he expressed confusion at a recent resolution of the Supreme Council Presidium on the Republic of Estonia's state border, or to be more correct, on repealing previous resolutions.

[Vare] Yes, indeed, in Russia this decision has caused very serious confusion. It would suffice to mention the headline in IZVESTIYA the day after the resolution was

adopted. The headline ran like this: "Estonia Presents Territorial Claims to Russia". Naturally this has brought about a certain kind of political tension, and naturally this question is extremely sensitive and complex.

I would, however, say this much as a comment. The statement of Russian representatives which was read out at the news conference also notes that there is a whole string of documents—the Estonian-Russian treaty, as well as later protocols between the governments—which envisage a peaceful discussion of these issues via talks. This was also noted immediately by the Russians, so that I think that this kind of balanced approach is certainly a possibility. I would so much like to hope that misunderstandings of this kind are not being caused mainly by imprecise juridical interpretations of this Presidium resolution, in which the Presidium in fact did not discuss territories but in fact discussed, or rather decided on, its own resolutions. This is the prerogative of any sovereign state, of a sovereign body of power. The shortcomings in these interpretations will not cloud over our cooperation which, in particular with Russia, in fact, bears a relatively decisive role. For this reason I would like to put it like this: The statement was acknowledged. The statement was understandable in a way—why it came about—and it did not create any pointless additional tension here.

Savisaar Talks With Fokin, UNESCO Official

*LD2109113991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 1400 GMT 20 Sep 91*

[Text] Within the framework of the sixth conference in Tallinn, Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar met the leaders of several delegations attending the conference. This was reported by Sergey Chernov, press secretary of the Estonian government, to the Baltic News Service.

During a meeting with Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin a joint position was reached on several principled issues. Today on Toompea, Savisaar and Fokin signed a communique on developing interstate economic and cultural cooperation. The communique states that Estonian-Ukrainian relations will in the future be based on international law.

Edgar Savisaar also met with Bakur Gulua, Georgian deputy prime minister and leader of the Georgian delegation. Bilateral economic relations and the fulfillment of agreements between the governments were discussed.

Later, the Estonian prime minister received Federico Mayor, UNESCO general secretary. Issues related to Estonia joining the work of several international organizations, including UNESCO, were discussed.

Speaker Nugis Discusses Gold Holdings in U.S.

*LD2409104491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 0600 GMT 24 Sep 91*

[Text] In an interview given to the POSTIMEES newspaper Ulo Nugis, speaker of the Estonian Supreme

Council, currently on a visit to the United States, expresses regret that the Supreme Council has withdrawn the authority of the delegation which has been holding talks with the USSR.

Ulo Nugis agreed that issues connected with the delegation should not be discussed until he returns to Estonia. Ulo Nugis has made all the necessary preparations to arrive in Estonia within 24 hours if necessary.

In the United States Ulo Nugis met with President Bush, and they also talked about the Estonian gold. The state of Estonia has gold in the United States valued at \$29.2 million based on the official rate of \$354 for an ounce of gold.

Paldiski Nuclear Reactors Presence To Be Raised

*OW2109194891 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1630 GMT 21 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Academician Endel Lippmaa, Estonian minister without portfolio, and Juri Liim, a member of the Estonian parliamentary commission on defense, visited a secret military base in the closed to foreigners town of Paldiski near Tallinn September 19. Mr. Lippmaa told BF [BALTFAX] that 2 moth-balled submarine nuclear reactors are held at the base. However, Mr. Lippmaa said, he has not received information about the reactor's capacity.

According to unofficial sources, the reactors were brought to Paldiski in early 1980 and are kept in a large building. For a long time Paldiski also served as a base for submarines, but military sources say there are already no submarines in Estonia.

Mr. Lippmaa pointed out his intention to raise the question of the Paldiski military base and, in particular, of the nuclear reactors.

Latvia

Gorbunovs Notes U.S. 'Responsiveness' on Visit

*LD2109093391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1300 GMT 20 Sep 91*

[Interview with Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Latvian Supreme Council chairman, by correspondent Dzintra Seso in Riga "on his return from New York" on 20 September—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Seso] What is the mood at the moment? Thank you for taking our name out to the world.

[Gorbunovs] We now meet great responsiveness everywhere.

[Seso] Do they love us everywhere?

[Gorbunovs] Well, yes. Well, at least it appears so. Now there are not any problems organizing our visits abroad, but I think that this responsiveness and trust we must understand by increasing our own responsibility about what happens now in the world and what happens here at home. This is how I understand it. If it were not like that, then this trust and responsiveness could diminish to a certain extent.

[Seso] Would you tell us whether the United States has any concrete financial proposals?

[Gorbunovs] It was confirmed in practice what we already spoke about here with Secretary of State Baker.

[Seso] Would you tell us whether there are any calculations about how much a permanent representative from Latvia in the United States will cost?

[Gorbunovs] Jurkans remained there to calculate all these matters, but we will be helped to [word indistinct]. For the time being I will not say, but Jurkans is arranging this. I think that it will be necessary to house our mission for the time being at the premises of some friendly state there, because it will be difficult to maintain own premises there.

[Seso] Latvia, without doubt, rejoices on being admitted to the United Nations, but what will the rights and duties of Latvia be like as a member of the United Nations?

[Gorbunovs] I just now told the radio that this trust in us is our duty. It is parallel, and perhaps somewhere in front. I think that we will work in the group of Western states, where all the states have been divided into groups. The most important task now is to become practically integrated into all the structures. Various committees operate there, and we must acquire experience and begin to work. I think that the principal question is kind of a joint one. The people of Latvia and the people of the Baltics have a bitter historical experience. In beginning to work on a world scale, we should not allow this to be repeated for other peoples. I will say once more that the work must be done very specifically in committees and in various commissions. Mr. Jurkans and others remained there and are now working.

[Seso] If, in the USSR, Zhirinovskiy comes to power, or somebody makes use of the Soviet Army here, will the United Nations defend us?

[Gorbunovs] By all means. In listening at the United Nations to the speeches of the representatives of various state missions, I understand that since the Persian Gulf crisis the United Nations feels its power and is ready to use it to defend every small state.

[Seso] You also met U.S. President Bush. How are the relations developing between Latvia and the United States?

[Gorbunovs] Relations did not develop during the meeting, because it was, after all, just a little formal meeting. [passage omitted] I think that these relations

are developing as very constructive ones. I have always liked how the Americans work here. They operate very concretely. If we concretely respond with our initiatives or demands or requests, then our requests make their way into the speeches of the President or the mouth of the President, if one could say so. This testifies to a very accurate system. President Bush requested that we consider our system and how we will receive this assistance, because he said that experience shows that a separate department is necessary to engage in coordination issues. Otherwise things are not possible because everybody acts and nobody bears responsibility for real results.

[Seso] According to the information at our disposal, all the tasks have been fulfilled. Were there any problems?

[Gorbunovs] There are no special problems. [passage omitted] It will have to be taken into account that foreign affairs and activities cost money, but I think, just as with education, foreign affairs have to be worthwhile. They will definitely be worthwhile. [passage omitted]

Finnish Trade Minister Supports Economic Accord

*LD2209151391 Riga Radio Riga International
in English 2030 GMT 20 Sep 91*

[Text] A Finnish governmental delegation headed by Finland's minister of foreign trade has concluded a two-day visit to Latvia. According to Minister Salolainen, Latvia and Finland should sign a new economic agreement. The main area of cooperation at the moment could be a road building project, via (Baltica), that, according to the minister, could secure proper conditions for the transit flow between Scandinavia and central Europe here on the territory of Latvia. The Finnish minister of foreign trade expressed his support for Latvia's willingness to join the European Association of Free Trade, EFTA.

Delegation Attends Council of Europe Session

*LD2409021791 Moscow TASS in English 2140 GMT
23 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaitsev]

[Text] Riga September 23 TASS—The member-countries of the Council of Europe showed considerable interests in the development of the situation in the Baltic republics, First Deputy Chairman of the Latvian Parliament Dainis Ivans told a news conference here today.

He had led the republic delegation to the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. Latvia was awarded the status of the council's special guest.

According to Ivans, the status entitles the holder to certain assistance, including material. In addition, Ivans said, during the assembly session, its participants held conversations with Latvian envoys in which they touched on the restoration of citizenship in the republic, ethnic minority and human rights.

He pointed out that guarantees of democratic freedoms were among conditions for granting the country full membership status.

Rubiks on Hunger Strike, Suffers Health Problems

*LD2109142891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1330 GMT 21 Sep 91*

[Text] Alfred Rubiks, former first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee's, state of health deteriorated sharply, a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent has been told by a correspondent from the (GOLOTEY) agency. Rubiks, arrested on 23 August in connection with the State Committee for the State of Emergency affairs, has refused food since then. Rubiks' family is afraid that he might not survive to his birthday on 25 September when he will be 56. Relatives are trying to find a new lawyer, as they do not trust the one officially appointed. They have not succeeded so far.

Republic Introduces New Customs Regulations

*LD2409051591 Riga Radio Riga International
in Latvian 1930 GMT 23 Sep 91*

[Text] Customs regulations in Latvia have changed. Salins, director of the customs department of the Republic of Latvia, has announced the new customs regulations, which are in force for entry into and departure from Latvia. According to these, for citizens of Western countries as well as for permanent residents of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia who are entering or leaving with these countries' visas, the customs regulations of the Republic of Latvia apply, but for USSR citizens who have USSR visas, USSR customs regulations apply.

On entering Latvia, according to the new customs regulations, bringing in food products that do not serve as food without prior preparation is forbidden: examples are flour, groats, raw meat, and the like. As in almost any country, it is also forbidden to bring into Latvia arms, munitions, explosives, narcotics, and psychotropic substances. On leaving Latvia, it is permitted to take out goods to a value of 300 rubles. This sum does not apply, of course, to personal property. On traveling through Latvia, a declaration has to be presented as to what kind of goods are being transported. This declaration is in force for three days.

Lithuania

Landsbergis, Saudargas Answer Reporters' Questions

LD2109091191

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 1800 GMT on 20 September carries a 29-minute recording of a news conference by Vytautas Landsbergis and Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas at

the Supreme Council, conducted by Audrius Azubalis, a press representative of the Supreme Council.

Landsbergis and Saudargas give brief descriptions of the advantages of Lithuania being a United Nations member, and its duties and obligations in this respect. Following this are questions by journalists.

Asked about his meeting with President Bush in Washington, Landsbergis replies: "The talk with President Bush was not as long as talks in the past, but it was held in a different spirit. We felt goodwill and the wish to help. There was concrete talk about various kinds of support and help. It was different in the past. Now there are no [words indistinct]. When a conversation is about help, then it should not be about help sometimes or what kind of help it should be, but what kind of help can start today. Of course, it is political help and support, but also economic support, or support in joining international structures that could help to implement our reforms. It is very important that we talked about the primary task—the withdrawal of the Soviet Army—and these talks included Latvian and Estonian representatives. Our position was understood in an approving manner. The United States will take steps and their stand will be supportive to this our demand.

"You understand very well that a year ago such problems were not discussed. Then it was—after a week's time, or tomorrow, or in a few days—the Soviet Union would have to withdraw its Army from Lithuania. Then everything seemed to be in another light, as a distant aim. Now it is a realistic aim of [word indistinct] tomorrow. The United States understand this."

Since the Soviet leadership has been mentioning 1994 for the beginning of withdrawal, a journalist asked if this is a categorical statement or if it can be changed.

Landsbergis replied: "Everything can be overcome. We have seen more than once that the Soviet Army can move very fast, long distances and in large numbers, from one territory to another. This is a problem of goodwill or of a decision that can be made. We hope that [words indistinct] the decision will be made."

Asked whether President Bush made any concrete promise as regards the withdrawal of the Army, Landsbergis said: "The stand of the United States was reflected in an official statement made after our departure for New York, and supports our stand on the withdrawal of the Soviet army. You can find its text."

Asked whether prospects of relations between the Baltic states and the Soviet Union were mentioned during the conversation with President Bush, Landsbergis stated: "This was mentioned, but I would not like [words indistinct], but they were not essential issues. Indeed, our stand has been stated more than once and we could only reaffirm this stand. We wish good relations with the Soviet Union. Our aim is cooperation, mutual cooperation. But with whom, what country will be our partner, we do not know yet. It is being formulated. The principal

issues do not change, but the situation depends on the Soviet Union and what it will be like."

Asked by a REUTER correspondent about a letter from Lech Walesa, Landsbergis said: "I have not yet replied to that letter, because I have not had time, but tomorrow or the day after I will reply. I did not have an opportunity to meet with the official representatives of the Polish Government, except for protocol encounters on my way [passage indistinct]. In encounters with the Polish representatives in New York I had an opportunity to exchange views. I did not see any problems there, such as the lack of understanding or [words indistinct] which is being intensively formed by some political forces in Poland itself."

When asked whether some high-level negotiations with the Soviet Union will take place, Landsbergis stated: "The Soviet Union is one of the few states with which the Republic of Lithuania does not have diplomatic relations."

Saudargas, commenting on this, says: "During the European Security and Cooperation Conference in Moscow I addressed a letter to USSR Foreign Minister Pankin, proposing to renew diplomatic relations. From conversations with officials of the Foreign Ministry, they did not see any problems. We are still waiting for a reply. My deputy, Katkus, will be attending that conference next week and, I think, will make inquiries about this. This would be a channel to start practical [passage indistinct]."

KGB Official Comments on Talks With Landsbergis

LD2109212791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Chairman of the Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis met today with USSR KGB Deputy Chairman Nikolay Stolyarov, and Stanislav Orlov, deputy head of the KGB board for the struggle against organized crime. Their conversation lasted for about two hours.

Nikolay Stolyarov agreed to reply to several questions by journalists. Asked whether he was satisfied with the results of the meeting, the KGB deputy chairman said:

[Begin Stolyarov recording in Russian] As far as the degree of satisfaction is concerned, I think that it was [passage indistinct]. I can say with satisfaction that [passage indistinct]. What was the talk about? It concerned the ways of regulating issues dealing with the abolition of the KGB in the Republic of Lithuania. [passage indistinct] During the talk we were all striving to strengthen trust, intensify our aspiration toward a speedier abolition of the organ which is provoking so many emotions, which, as a rule, are not benevolent among the population. [passage indistinct] We drew up a work plan for the abolition and the handing over of property. There is also the main issue—the fate of

people. What to do with people who, I am convinced, mostly did not take part in that vicious practice [passage indistinct].

Nikolay Stolyarov did not reject the possibility that a number of documents were illegally taken from Lithuania by KGB officials. He said that if such documents are found in Moscow, or somewhere else, the KGB leadership would consider returning them to Lithuanian officials. When asked what he imagines the fate of Lithuanians who have been working in the KGB will be, Nikolay Stolyarov replied:

[Begin Stolyarov recording in Russian] Today, during the talk with Mr. Landsbergis, we discussed whether or not to start with a clean sheet. [passage indistinct] The KGB officials who served in this organ, which left a bad imprint in Lithuania, (?not through their fault), must of course reconsider their position in many respects. I know many people who are good patriots, patriots of their country. They intend to stay here in Lithuania, although there will be great difficulties. [Passage indistinct] in Moscow, or in other republics, but the main group of officials will remain here. On this occasion I would like to appeal to the leadership—and there was talk today about it today—to Lithuanian citizens, to treat these people with understanding. [Words indistinct] are professionals, highly qualified people, [passage indistinct] to talk about (?intelligence and counterintelligence). I do not think their experience and professionalism [passage indistinct].

Nikolay Stolyarov also stressed that he, like Vadim Bakatin, was against the publication of lists of KGB agents. Such a step would be detrimental to these people, he said.

Presidium Prohibits 'Anti-Semitic Propaganda'

LD2409045691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Summary] A decision was adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Council today concerning the anti-Semitic propaganda in some publications of the Soviet Union which are disseminated in Lithuania.

The decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania is based on the Basic Law of the Republic and the Law on Mass Media, "which prohibits activities instigating racial and anti-Semitic propaganda."

The Presidium decided to "task the government of Lithuania to verify if the state services for the dissemination of the press, which are selling the USSR publication MOLODAYA GVARDIYA and some other publications, are not violating the provisional Basic Law of the Republic of Lithuania, Article 16, and the law on the press and other kinds of mass media, as well as the declaration of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania concerning the genocide of the Jewish nation in Lithuania during the period of the Nazi occupation."

The decision also tasked the government to take relevant measures if the above violation was established.

Banks Entrusted To Freeze Communist Party Assets

LD2109031891 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1448 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustisila]

[Text] Vilnius, 19 Sep (TASS)—Lithuanian and other republican banks have been entrusted by the instruction published today by the government to freeze the accounts belonging to the Communist Party (CPL) [Communist Party of Lithuania] and to the Komsomol of Lithuania, as well as to the corporate bodies subordinate to them. The same instruction issued by the government entrusts the General Procuracy, together with the Department of State Control, to "define the physical and corporate bodies which have inherited the property of the above-named organizations, to establish the legality of inheriting such property, and to submit information on this to the government and to the commission which has been set up to study the questions relating to the property of the Communist Party of Lithuania (CPSU)."

The newspaper TIESA writes today that "it seems that a campaign is taking root in Lithuania to take away property from one people, and to distribute it to another. Whether or not one wishes it, associations with 1917 in Russia spring to mind." According to Professor of Law Prantshiskus Vitkyavichus, author of this article, by undertaking such actions the government is trying to "drive an awkward opposition party from the arena."

Department Appeals to OMON Members To Surrender

LD2109113391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] The crime investigation department attached to the general procuracy of the Republic of Lithuania is investigating the activity of the criminal group—the special purpose militia detachment [OMON] members—on the territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

In order to expose the true participants in criminal actions and bar the way to unfounded suspicions, it is essential to interrogate all members of this formation and collect other additional material. Therefore, it is proposed that people who have served in the OMON unit of the Soviet Union's Ministry of Internal Affairs come to the General Procuracy of the Republic of Lithuania, in Vilnius on Smetonos Street No 4, to interrogator Norinkevicius in Room 111. The telephone number is 64-46-05.

We remind you that former OMON officials who voluntarily and without delay surrender firearms will be prosecuted for unlawful possession and carrying of firearms.

Government Reorganizes Civil Defense System

OW2309215191 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1900 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania has put an end to the activities of the Civil Defence Staff and its structures—a ruling to that effect has been issued by the government of the republic. The function has been handed over to the Department of Lithuania's Defence which will take over the property of the former Civil Defence Staff.

Investigator Blames Soviet Troops for Medininkai

LD2209080691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English
2130 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] A high-ranking official of the Procurator General's Office of Lithuania has pointed out that only one version remains concerning the brutal murder of seven Lithuanian policemen and customs officials at the Medininkai border control post at the end of July. Chief investigator (Algis Atashka) maintains that the murder was committed by Soviet servicemen.

I cannot say yet whether it's the Army's task force unit, the Interior Troops, or the KGB, but the logic of the events, the evidence available and witnesses' testimony clearly point to the fact that the customs officials were killed by Soviet servicemen, said (Algis Atashka) in an interview to the GIMTASIS KRASTAS weekly. For the first time he gave official confirmation of the fact that there are several witnesses who saw the attack on the border control post. As is known, one of the customs officers who was injured during the attack survived. As the investigator, (Algis Atashka) said, the weapons used in Medininkai are meant not for fighting but for killing people, and even in the Army they are not to be found in abundance. The success of the investigation will now depend on the benevolence of the Soviet Union, as it's especially important to find out which plant produced the bullets and what military unit received them.

Leadership Comments on Polish Minority Issue

Landsbergis on Walesa Letter

AU2309144891 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
17 Sep 91 pp 1,5

[Interview with Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis by Maja Narbutt; place and date not given: "A Wave of Emotion"]

[Text] [Narbutt] Mr. President, there was speculation that a meeting might take place between you and Lech Walesa, the president of the Republic of Poland. However, you received a letter from Lech Walesa instead. Did the contents of the letter come as a surprise to you?

[Landsbergis] I would be inclined to say no. However, some of the statements contained in the letter do surprise

me, and I would call them "unpresidential." They are typical of the Polish press, which also writes that Lithuania is applying the principle of "collective responsibility" regarding the Polish minority.

[Narbutt] But does the dissolution of the local councils in Salcininkai and the Vilnius region as well as the dismissal of several dozen Polish officials not mean that such a principle is indeed being employed, and do these steps not affect the Poles living there?

[Landsbergis] No, although it was a case of collective responsibility on the part of the councils as a whole, because the councils unanimously passed a resolution directed against the Republic of Lithuania. However, can one really say what is now being said, that following the dissolution of the councils, the Poles have been "deprived of protection." What kind of protection was it? That of a communist clique. It is those communists who want to have that view circulated. It is a pity that this view is accepted and repeated uncritically in Poland. In addition, the council in Snieckus, where Russians live, has also been dissolved.

[Narbutt] Maybe the resolutions were not only directed against Poles, but against national minorities in general?

[Landsbergis] But perhaps they were directed against political, not ethnic minorities? That would probably be a more accurate way of putting it.

[Narbutt] To anyone who has had any contact with the councils—especially in Salcininkai—it is clear that they should not continue to function with the personnel composition that they have had until now, but one surely could have expected elections to have been called?

[Landsbergis] Elections will be held in six months' time.

[Narbutt] That is late.

[Landsbergis] It is early. It is a compromise. Initially, we wanted to hold them in a year's time. By that time, the current wave of emotion would surely have subsided.

[Narbutt] The councils were dissolved at a difficult time: Privatization has just started up. It is sad that this has occurred at the very beginning of Lithuania's existence as a fully independent state.

[Landsbergis] It is not correct to present that as our first decision. The first thing we did was to take over military posts, and we settled the question of borders and customs points.

However, depicting things differently mattered to some people because they want to see a scandal.

[Narbutt] Lithuania has returned to the family of European states. Meanwhile, there are differences between Lithuanian and international law.

[Landsbergis] Sometimes. We will verify some of the laws that were passed earlier.

[Narbutt] Two years ago, it was decided that the granting of Lithuanian citizenship would have to be preceded by the submission of a declaration of loyalty. That is rather shocking.

[Landsbergis] I have a Polish newspaper in front of me. It contains official comment from an official person stating that "a declaration of loyalty is required from Poles." A declaration is required from all the inhabitants of Lithuania and not just from Poles. It is not some special form of harassment directed at Poles.

[Narbutt] The declaration of loyalty requirement was approved under very special circumstances. Lithuania was fighting for independence. Now that Lithuania is even formally independent, is such a declaration still needed?

[Landsbergis] Perhaps it no longer is. I say that we can change certain laws. The law on citizenship will be revised.

[Narbutt] Politics is the art of compromise. Mr. President, you have always said that there can be no compromise with Moscow. It would now appear that Lithuania has decided that a compromise with Warsaw is not possible.

[Landsbergis] I find it somewhat surprising that Warsaw sometimes addresses us in the way that Moscow used to. It tells us which resolution we should adopt and which resolutions we should suspend. I detect the following message in these statements: There are 40 million of us and only 3 million of you, so you had better watch out or things will turn out badly.

[Narbutt] It would, however, appear that Vilnius is not particularly concerned about what Warsaw says. It seems that there has still been no reply to Minister Skubiszewski's letter of 16 August.

[Landsbergis] The Soviet coup occurred before we could send a reply. Minister Saudargas was already in Warsaw on 19 August, and he could answer any questions. So, there was just no written answer. Minister Saudargas stresses that his talks with Minister Skubiszewski are always very friendly. On the other hand, our relations with the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs are not always that friendly.

[Narbutt] However, Minister Skubiszewski has not gone to Lithuania. The obstacles were the absence of a Polish-Lithuania declaration and the fact that Minister Saudargas will be visiting New York on the date that was scheduled for the Polish foreign minister's visit to Vilnius.

[Landsbergis] As you know, we have been accepted into the United Nations. Minister Saudargas is visiting New York in connection with that, and the date on which we will join the United Nations is not, after all, something that we chose.

As for the declaration, we submitted a draft to Poland in February. Three months later we received a reply stating that there were few differences between the Polish and Lithuanian texts. We waited another four months. Then, Mr. Czaputowicz appeared. It turned out that there already was another draft, which was to be accepted without any discussion because Mr. Czaputowicz had no authority to make changes to it.

[Narbutt] However, was the change in the draft not the result of the tougher line that Lithuania had adopted vis-a-vis its Polish inhabitants?

[Landsbergis] But how does one explain the delay of eight months?

[Narbutt] The text of the declaration contains a statement that is no longer pertinent to the effect that Poland will support Lithuania in its efforts to join the United Nations. You no longer need that assistance. Is that not symbolic and, at the same time, the reason for what would appear to be a change in Lithuania's attitude toward Poland?

[Landsbergis] We still hope that Poland will be favorably disposed toward us. We have had proof that it is, and we still have proof that it is. Polish society above all has demonstrated that by displaying solidarity with Lithuania's aspirations for independence.

The government's position was somewhat different. I remember that my elderly father's first spontaneous reaction to the news that Iceland had recognized Lithuania's independence was: "Well, Poland is late."

We thought that Poland would be the first country to recognize our independence. We are, of course, grateful for everything that Poland has done for us. Evidently, that was as much as it could do, given the circumstances.

Vagnorius' Complaint Printed

*PM2309154391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Why IZVESTIYA Rejects Lithuanian Prime Minister G. Vagnorius' Accusations"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA received a cable from the Lithuanian Government signed by the republic's prime minister, G. Vagnorius. Hewing to the newspaper's professional principle of publishing various viewpoints and an objective, all-around exposition of positions, we cite the text of the cable in its entirety.

"IZVESTIYA Chief Editor. Moscow.

"Of late reports and comments have begun to appear in IZVESTIYA (founded by the IZVESTIYA journalists' collective) presenting relations between Poland and Lithuania in a biased and distorted light and deliberately focusing attention on the alleged complication in the Polish national minority's position in Lithuania. Thus, a commentary entitled 'Conflict Develops Between

Lithuania and Poland' in the 13 September issue contains the anonymous assertion, evidently for inflammatory purposes, that Lithuania and Poland have found themselves on the threshold of a national conflict provoked by the Lithuanian leadership's actions toward the Polish national minority resident on Lithuanian territory. We are forced to draw your attention to the fact that these claims do not match reality and will do nothing to strengthen trust between Russia and Lithuania. The legal actions taken by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and government toward the officials of the three rayons that backed the attempted military coup cannot and must not be an excuse for fueling interethnic relations and interfering in our country's internal affairs. We earnestly insist on the requisite steps being taken to stop such provocative campaigns to discredit the Lithuanian state in the eyes of IZVESTIYA's readers. We hope that your newspaper will also publish this statement of ours,

"With respect,

"[Signed] Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius."

From the Editorial Office: First let us provide some clarification. The 13 September report "Conflict Developing Between Lithuania and Poland" mentioned in the cable was a report that IZVESTIYA's teletype room received from REUTER. The newspaper considered and considers it its duty to publish all material based on factual information regardless of the political views and positions espoused by the leadership of republics that were previously part of the USSR and are now independent. It is important to stress that IZVESTIYA reserves the right to comment on particular events, draw analytical conclusions, and predict the further development of a political situation. We regard attempts to impede this as an infringement on freedom of speech and human rights in the sphere of information.

In connection with the cable we cannot help but point out another feature of the current political situation. A tendency can clearly be traced in the independent republics for freedom of speech to be attacked and "enemies of the people" sought. The words "biased," "distorted," etc. that are painfully familiar to us from the period of stagnation are reappearing. The desire to compel journalists to cover events in the "proper" light cannot fail to alarm the independent press.

If our local correspondents are persecuted or obstructed, all IZVESTIYA's authority will be used to stop this. There are quite enough democratic means of defending journalists' rights to do this effectively. In the new political context another obvious phenomenon is emerging: varying violations of national minorities' rights. Let us clear things up: We think that the dissolution of the Shalchininskiy and Vilnyusskiy Soviets and the introduction of direct rule in those rayons might have been lawful had they not encroached on the painful sphere of ethnic relations in that situation. In that case any tough administrative measures—whatever noble aims may underlie them—can act and indeed already are

acting as a detonator in interethnic relations. It is now becoming clear that these measures have not helped establish good-neighborly relations between Lithuania and Poland. We were not the ones who created the conflict situation in these relations.

Let us stress once again: Attempts to blame IZVESTIYA for the deterioration in bilateral relations are unfounded. The editorial office voices the hope that the Lithuanian and Polish leadership and public will find compromise solutions.

Official on Government Decision

LD2209153391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English
2130 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Today's issue of the state newspaper LIEUTUVOS AIDAS carries an interview with the state representative to the Vilnius district, Mr. Arturas Merkys. The talk focuses on the Polish issue, which is now very urgent in Lithuania.

At the beginning of September a number of heads of the municipal councils of the Vilnius and Salcininkeliai districts and the town Snieckus, all in eastern Lithuania, predominantly non-Lithuanian inhabited, were dismissed from their posts. New state-authorized officials were appointed to take up the duties until new municipal elections to the posts were held. All the officials dismissed from their posts were involved in putschist and anti-Lithuanian activity. Yet the governmental decree appointing new authorized officials to govern the regions caused a reaction among the local population in those districts and was promptly spread by the world mass media as anti-Polish acts. Mr. Arturas Merkys, the government-appointed official for the Vilnius district, said the following in the LIEUTUVOS AIDAS daily:

I have no doubt as to the rightness of the governmental decision. The anticonstitutional activity of the Vilnius, Salcininkeliai, and Snieckus local municipalities had been apparent since the proclamation of Lithuania's independence last year. So now those officials have no grounds to claim that their rights were violated. The mother of Mr. Arturas Merkys is a Pole, so he is well aware of the problems that the Polish population in Lithuania faces. Mr. Arturas Merkys says that it's very difficult now to separate the Polish issue from the context of the putsch of Soviet communists in August. That in the opinion of Mr. Arturas Merkys is a precondition to positively settle the Polish issue in Lithuania in a manner which would satisfy the interests of the Polish community here to the best.

At the very start of the revival of Lithuania there were people who believed that relations with Russia, as well as with other eastern neighbors, would be easier for Lithuania to settle than those with the eastern Lithuanian area and Poland. The weekly GIMTASIS KRASTAS publishes three views on that issue.

A representative of the Polish faction in the Lithuanian parliament, Mr. Zbigniew Balcewicz, considers that the three municipal councils should not have been disbanded before their guilt had been completely proved. Mr. Zbigniew Balcewicz is certain that people in those districts cannot grasp why things took the given course and why the communists who are now going underground have played the Polish card to attain their goals. They are already playing the trump card by claiming that on gaining independence Lithuania will first of all crush its ethnic minorities, including the Poles. Mr. Zbigniew Balcewicz sees two extreme forces, one of which seeks to make the multinational population of eastern Lithuania Lithuanian as soon as possible while the other fights any expression of Lithuanian culture.

Mr. Rimantas Klimas, chairman of the board for east Lithuanian problems, is convinced that the Polish issue in Lithuania is a political one. Although Poland is strongly interested in eastern Lithuania, the interest is not grounded either morally or juridically because the districts of Vilnius, Salcininkeliai, as well as other now predominantly Polish inhabited, are ethnically ancient Lithuanian territories. And that is the thing which has to be settled first of all in shaping relations with Poland. The disbanding of the municipal councils of the Vilnius and Salcininkeliai districts is fully legitimate, if only belated, considers Mr. Rimantas Klimas. And the mistakes that have been made must be corrected with much professionalism and tolerance. On these grounds the Lithuanian parliament and government stop the destructive activity of the given local municipalities and introduce direct government in the districts. In the opinion of Mr. Rimantas Klimas, the population of that area is Polandized [as heard] Lithuanians, Belorussians, or Russians.

MP [Member of Parliament] Rimuydas Valatka considers that the Lithuanian parliament had not enough patience and political wisdom in settling the issue. As a result the leaders of the districts in question were given an opportunity to appear as martyrs on ethnic grounds. MP Rimuydas Valatka thinks that Poles, not Lithuanians, had to be appointed as governmental officials in those districts.

Polish Anti-Lithuanian Literature Disseminated

LD2309161891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Today a bulletin containing a comment on Lithuanian-Polish relations by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, was presented to correspondents by the Supreme Council Information Bureau. It reads:

Of late some elements in the Polish mass media have launched a strange campaign against the Republic of Lithuania.

The actions of the Lithuanian Government and the Supreme Council, restricting the activity of certain individuals and certain groups of individuals, are described as anti-Polish. The Lithuanian Government has always resisted any kind of provocations and does not think at all that Lithuanian Poles are hostile to Lithuanian independence.

However, the actions of those individuals and groups which violate the Lithuanian laws must be restricted, regardless of [word indistinct] situation.

There are internal political difficulties in Poland; the elections are drawing nearer, therefore the nature of the reproaches could be temporary. However, of late in general the prompting of nationalist and expansionist feelings is felt. This can be illustrated by the leaflets which were printed in Gdansk and Sopot and disseminated in the eastern rayons of Lithuania.

The bulletin goes on to say that the Government of Lithuania hopes that the campaign of misinformation will not affect relations between the states which have been friendly, and which are developing in the right direction.

The leadership of Lithuania also hopes that the executive power of the Republic of Poland will take measures to prevent the progress of such events.

This is how the bulletin issued by the Supreme Council Information Bureau concludes.

Vagnorius Positively Assesses Talks With Germans

*LD2109102191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English
2130 GMT 19 Sep 91*

[Text] The Lithuanian prime minister, Gediminas Vagnorius, returned to Vilnius today following a three-day visit to Germany. In his opinion, Lithuania would have concrete political and economic benefit from the results of this visit, and this year still an interstate agreement will be signed with Germany. Gediminas Vagnorius was once again assured by German leaders that Germany would further work for Lithuania to be admitted to the EEC. The prime minister, who yesterday had a meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, proposed that Germany should extend economic and technical assistance as well as credits to Lithuania, independently of the European Community, and that they should be linked with the production turned out in Germany's eastern provinces or with the equipment in the former Eastern Germany, which finds no proper usage. According to the Lithuanian premier, Chancellor Kohl has also pointed to the importance of withdrawing Soviet troops from Lithuania as soon as possible. This issue, Gediminas Vagnorius told Radio Free Europe, was given much space during the meeting and all problems connected with this issue were discussed as well as concrete possible ways to resolve them.

Federation Affairs**Council of Ministers Presidium Meeting Cancelled****Closed Session To Meet**

*LD2309160291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Sep 91*

[Text] A session of the Presidium of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers planned for today has been called off. Instead, a closed session of the government is taking place at the White House from 0900 to discuss the issue of Ivan Silayev's stance.

A Russian Information Agency correspondent was informed by a participant in the meeting that this is connected with the fact that Silayev, in his capacity as head of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy, signed an appeal to the RSFSR president on 16 September in which he allegedly asked that all Yeltsin's decrees on strengthening Russian sovereignty be annulled. It is expected the republican Council of Ministers will take a final decision on the problem under discussion at the evening meeting.

Council Examines Silayev Appeal

*LD2309211491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 2000 GMT 23 Sep 91*

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers has examined an appeal signed by Ivan Silayev, head of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy, and addressed to RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin at its closed session.

This document contains a demand to abolish the orders on transferring Union property on the territory of Russia to Russia's jurisdiction. Commenting on this appeal during the session, Mikhail Maley, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, stated that he cannot understand how Silayev could sign the document and how he could make the decision that Russia, which has always implemented its own policy under the previous leaders of the Union government, can abandon it now, at a time when the center has been weakened.

Maley stressed that appeals of this sort have not been sent to the leaderships of any of the republics except the RSFSR. Mikhail Maley said that he asked Silayev to recall the above-mentioned document, to instruct the Union departments to fulfill the instructions of the RSFSR president, and not to resist the transfer of USSR property to RSFSR jurisdiction.

Deputies Voice Opinions

*LD2309225691 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 2005 GMT 23 Sep 91*

[Report by unidentified correspondent, including recorded remarks by M. Maley and N. Fedorov, members of the Russian cabinet; followed by interviews with N. Malyshev, not further identified, and Maley and Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev by correspondent Aleksandr Gurnov in Moscow on 23 September—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Here is some news about a closed session of the Russian Government today, which examined an appeal by Ivan Silayev, as leader of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy to Russian President Yeltsin, with a call—I wish to clarify the wording which was broadcast in the previous "Vesti" bulletin—to temporarily suspend a number of decrees, transferring to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] jurisdiction of Union property which is situated on RSFSR territory.

This appeal evoked various reactions from many members of the Russian Cabinet of Ministers. This is the opinion of some of them.

[Begin recording] [Maley] Ivan Stepanovich, by his own hand, without even leaving Russia, has demanded the abolition of the most important decrees and laws. Russian Prime Minister Silayev told me that Chairman of the Committee Silayev had signed a letter prohibiting the handing over of property without the agreement of that committee. In point of fact, the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy has repealed the president's decree and suspended its effect. This committee has no juridical justification; it is a provisional structure which can in no way give instructions to anyone on Russian territory.

[Fedorov] From the legal point of view, this document is a surprising one. The point is that Ivan Stepanovich Silayev is proposing to the president of the Russian Federation that he repeal the declaration of the state sovereignty of the Russian Federation and all the laws adopted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in defense of the sovereignty of the Russian Federation. To speak on behalf of the government of the Russian Federation—this right has been usurped by a certain group of leaders of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. We can guess who they are.

[Gurnov] What do you expect to achieve by the end of the session?

[Malyshev] Well, no decisions have yet been taken. A discussion on the style and methods of the work of the Council of Ministers is going on. And I would like to say that all the ministers who spoke—the overwhelming majority of them—support the position voiced by Mikhail Maley, on private property and Russian sovereignty, and there is no doubt that many of them believe

that the present situation just is not normal. It puts all the members of the government and the president in some kind of dual position.

[Gurnov] But a virtual ultimatum has been presented to Silayev: Either he, so to speak, remains in Russia, or he goes somewhere else and should not take part in the work of the cabinet, is that so?

[Maley] One should not call it an ultimatum. Ivan Stepanovich should realize that he cannot sit in both chairs at the present time, and he should make a choice. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Gurnov] It is 2200 in Moscow; the closed session has just ended, and we are here in the study of the "man of the moment," or rather, the main character in today's session, Ivan Stepanovich Silayev. Ivan Stepanovich, what is your view of today's session—it was not easy, was it?

[Silayev] You are right. I would even say it was a very difficult one. It ended by our agreeing that, yes, there were a number of things in this appeal which were not detailed very clearly. In a number of instances, it does not correspond to those rights and functions which the Committee for the Operational Management has. And it ended with a very serious entry in what is only a draft decision—there were several points there as matters were discussed as a whole in the RSFSR Council of Ministers—in which roughly the following will be said, and that is that the decisions of the above-mentioned committee are valid only after confirmation of them by the RSFSR Council of Ministers. [end recording]

Official Criticizes Yeltsin Decree on Moscow

LD1709225991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1420 GMT 17 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Sep (TASS)—"I think that in this instance the president has made a mistake"—this was the comment of Mikhail Maley, deputy chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, on that part of Boris Yeltsin's decree "On the Powers of the Bodies of Executive Power of the City of Moscow" in which the capital's authorities are given the right of administrative intervention in prices and tariffs on goods and services.

During a conversation with journalists in a break in the sitting of the republican assembly of exchange, trade and commercial structures now under way in Moscow, the Russian premier's deputy chairman [as received] essentially agreed with suggestions that the president had signed the said document at the instigation of the leaders of the Moscow government. He did, however, refrain from accusing the latter of antimarket sentiments.

At the same time, Mikhail Maley did not share the harsh statements and demarches undertaken in connection

with the decree by the members of the Moscow convention of entrepreneurs who have declared the capital a zone unfavorable to enterprise. Recalling the need to respect state authority and not to resort to using threats, he spoke in favor of overcoming the conflict as soon as possible.

Move To Oust Supreme Soviet's Isakov Proceeds

PM1709105791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 13 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Voters Prepare V. Isakov's Recall"]

[Text] Vladimir Isakov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, has arrived in Yekaterinburg for meetings with voters and an action group regarding his recall from the body of Russian deputies. As we know, this question was raised in District 655 after Isakov signed the "Statement of the Six." The district is planning a constituent assembly which is expected to approve the collection of the 16,000 voters' signatures legally required for a deputy's recall.

LE FIGARO Interviews Vice President Rutskoy

LD1709083691 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT
15 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Kuleshov]

[Text] Paris September 15 TASS—"I believe most of our people have long since realized the absurdity of the system that reigned in the Soviet Union for 74 years," Russia's Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy said in an interview with the French newspaper LE FIGARO.

"It is enough to go out and ask people in the street whether they are happy with their lot. The living conditions here are appalling. Communism said it was protecting the interests of the people but it was merely masquerading. What interests could be discussed if 292,000 officers here have no housing? And the civilians? I have no exact figures at hand, but approximately half the people have no (separate) flats. And health services. It is a nightmare. As for food products, essentials, it is simply a disaster."

"As regards democracy," Rutskoy went on, "it is not yet victorious. Democracy will triumph when shops are full, when people get housing, when health service problems are solved."

The era when Russia played the big brother part is over. The Russian president's stance is clear: He favors the creation of a confederation of equal and sovereign states. Republics may join the state council of the future Union or the interrepublican economic council. As for those who want neither the one nor the other, we shall trade with them for convertible currency at prices accepted in the rest of the world.

"I do not want to hurt anyone's feelings, but I would like to recall that 90 per cent of energy resources and raw

materials are located on Russia's territory. Even if there is no union in one form or another, Russia will not perish.

"We have begun domestic reforms in Russia. We are establishing a mechanism of presidential power, which has its representatives everywhere—prefects, heads of administration, governors. They will set the machine in motion and launch new reforms in every residential area and every village aiming to set people free from former fetters and enable him to do his business independently. Each and every individual must be given the opportunity to realize his potential," Rutskoy stressed.

Supreme Soviet Supports Council on Police Chief

OW1909221091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1830 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the long-drawn out conflict between Moscow's Council and Mayor's Office over the appointment of the head for the city's militia the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet has taken the side of the council.

January 23 this year the council and its executive committee appointed General Vyacheslav Komissarov to the post. August 22 the council confirmed its decision. The Mayor's Office has hampered the appointment and recently replaced it with Arkady Murashev. In protest 20 deputies have been on a hunger strike for 15 days.

The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has authorized Russia's president to enforce the Moscow Council's decision of January 23, 1991.

Our parliamentary correspondent reports that Moscow's Mayor Gavriil Popov has refused to attend the session of the city council.

Democratic Russia 'Liquidates' CPSU Monopoly

LD1509125891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Sep 91

[Text] "Democratic Russia" movement has fulfilled its task of liquidating the CPSU monopoly, which is outlined in its rules. This is the opinion of the participants in a plenum of its coordinating council, which is continuing its work in Moscow. It has been decided to hold a congress of the movement at the beginning of November, at which new rules of "Democratic Russia" will be adopted.

TASS Details Deliberations

LD1509154491 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT
15 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—The Democratic Russia movement has accomplished its main statutory

task—the elimination of the Communist Party's monopoly on power, according to participants in the plenary meeting of the movement's coordinating council, which is working in Moscow.

The plenary meeting is discussing the situation in the country and the role of the Democratic Russia movement in the changing political situation after last month's coup.

The plenum has decided to hold a congress of the movement to work out its new rules and set new goals at the beginning of November.

Problems of ownership caused debates not less heated than those about political reforms in the country.

Coordinating Council Cochairman Arkadiy Murashev told TASS participants in the plenum have many claims to make addressed to Russia's leadership and Moscow's mayor.

The Democratic Russia movement, which did so much to help Boris Yeltsin, Aleksandr Rutskoy, Gavriil Popov and Anatoliy Sobchak to win the elections, did not get its fair share of the "spoils," Murashev noted, for instance, that the leaders of the Movement of Democratic Reforms, who announced the creation of this new public organization at the beginning of this past summer, have already been given a set of buildings that earlier belonged to the former party school in Leningrad Avenue in Moscow and apartments in Minsk.

As regards the Democratic Party Movement it has acquired no buildings in the past twelve months of its existence apart from the mansion damaged by an explosion during the Russian presidential election campaign.

Democratic Communists Party Considers Name Change

PM1709111391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Report by A. Petelin: "And After All, the Problems Are the Same. The Democratic Party of Communists of Russia Advocates an Alliance of Democratic Forces"]

[Text] The Democratic Party of Communists of Russia [DPCR] Board has adopted the statement "New Situation—New Problems." After the military-bureaucratic putsch and its defeat, it says, the DPCR is faced with the task of determining its identity and place in the country's current political life. The changes that have taken place are only the beginning of the movement toward democracy. The DPCR will consistently maintain efforts to avert attempts at revenge on the part of nomenklatura-bureaucratic totalitarianism. The main thing here is to create a broad alliance of democratic forces in which every party would preserve its identity but would make a contribution to the common cause of developing democracy.

The statement supports the nationalization of CPSU property but, according to the DPCR Board, it must be

distributed and used in strict accordance with the norms of the law. The new party's leadership maintains a civilized approach to reforms in the economy and wants a voluntary union of sovereign states and the strengthening of executive power, but without displays of authoritarianism, overcentralization, parochialism, or separatism.

In connection with the break with the CPSU, whose leading structures were compromised during the putsch, the statement notes that a new name for the party, excluding the word "communists," must be discussed and adopted at the upcoming congress.

Democratic Party Forms 'Brain Trust' Council

LD1709225491 Moscow TASS in English 1211 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 17 TASS—The "brain trust" political council, has been formed in the Russian Democratic Party, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reports today. This consultative body will work out a strategy for the Russian Democratic Party. It includes 17 people, among them Ye. Ambartsumov, A. Tsypko and S. Zverev, an economist from the Yavlinskiy team.

It is characteristic that two-thirds of the members of the political council are not members of the Democratic Party. In view of this, the party activists have not agreed to the proposal of the party's leader N. Travkin that decisions of the political council are binding for party members.

It was announced that Svyatoslav Fyodorov had joined the Democratic Party.

The Moscow organisation of the Russian Democratic Party opposes the executive municipal authorities headed by Gavriil Popov for the reason "the stance of the Moscow mayor is not what was expected by a large part of democratic forces and contradicts his own election promises."

The board of the Moscow organisation of the Democratic Party declares that "as a political party it will vigorously oppose any attempts by Moscow authorities to abandon market economy, disavow democratic gains and resume authoritarian bureaucratic methods of management."

Textile Industries To Form Entrepreneurs Union

914A1188B Moscow TRUD in Russian
11 Sep 91 p 2

[Article by A. Golyayev: "The Union Is There. Will There Be Goods?"]

[Text] The heads of a number of concerns and associations of the textile and light industries of the Russian Federation have decided to form their own union of entrepreneurs. T. Sosnina, chairman of the Republic

Committee of the Trade Union of Textile and Light Industries Employees, comments on this fact:

The inhabitants of large and small cities of Russia have already grown sick and tired of empty shelves in department stores and so-called manufactured goods stores. An acute shortage of consumer goods has been caused primarily by the calamitous situation of enterprises of the textile and light industries. Economic relations inside the Russian Federation itself and business relations between republics have actually been destroyed by this point. Enterprises do not have the foreign exchange to purchase raw materials; the most pressing social issues of the employees of the sector are not being resolved. Attempts by individual concerns to solve the problem have not been successful so far.

This is how the idea to create a union of entrepreneurs was born. Fourteen concerns and associations joined it. It will be an independent nongovernmental organization which, together with the republic trade union committee, considers its main task to be pooling the efforts of specialists with a view to developing and implementing a program for the development of raw material supplies, restoring national crafts, and stabilizing and increasing the output of goods for the people. In addition, the new union will protect the rights and interests of entrepreneurs and provide comprehensive assistance to them.

Local Affairs

Deputies on 'Peacemaking Mission' to Chechen-Ingush

PM1809103791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 14 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by special correspondent Pavel Anokhin and Lom-Ali Beytelgareyev, deputy chief editor of SVOBODA, under the "Trouble Spot" rubric: "It Looks Like a Revolt"]

[Text] Grozny—The situation in Chechen-Ingushetia remains tense. The people, who have revolted against the communist regime and party rule, have removed from power Doku Zavgayev, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet, and his so-called "court" in the shape of the Chechen-Ingush Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. At the same time the executive committee of the All-National Congress of the Chechen People, which has essentially assumed real power in Grozny, is in no hurry to make full use of it.

This situation, together with the fact that all members of the Chechen-Ingush Republic Supreme Soviet remain in their posts, while a D. Zavgayev statement disseminated in the mass media says that he has made no official resignation statement and reserves his right, creates the impression of not so much dual power as of a power vacuum. The atmosphere is also being heated up by various rumors, each of which merely intensifies the mistrust and ruthlessness of the opposing forces.

On 11 September a delegation representing the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president and headed by State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis arrived in Grozny. The delegation comprises USSR and RSFSR people's deputies including RSFSR Press Minister Mikhail Poltoranin, Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev, Isa Aleshoyev....

"We have come as comrades-in-arms and friends rather than representing authority from above," Gennadiy Burbulis, leader of the peacemaking mission, stated. "We remember the services rendered by the Chechens, the Ingush, and all the people of the Chechen-Ingush Republic in defending democracy in August, during the putsch by the State Committee for the State of Emergency, and in June, during the presidential election. In our view, it is essential to find a legal procedure for breaking the deadlock, but in the light of all the new prevailing circumstances. The delegation is holding intense and intensive talks with representatives of the most diverse sociopolitical forces. On 11 September alone meetings were held with people's deputies of the Chechen-Ingush Republic Supreme Soviet, representatives of the All-National Congress of Chechen People Executive Committee, working people from enterprises, and the intelligentsia.

"We consider it necessary to make clear that reports about the Russian-speaking population having started to flee the republic are unfounded. They are spread and hyped up by by Zavgayev supporters. To prevent excesses and any possible provocations the All-National Congress of the Chechen People has organized the protection of public order through its own means in parallel with Internal Affairs Ministry agencies. And it must be said that there have been no excesses committed against the Russian-speaking population during the indefinite rally which has now been going on in Grozny since 19 August."

Presidium Expresses Solidarity With Strikers

OW1609231791 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1845 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Moscow Council expressed solidarity with the deputies on the hunger strike and urged RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Boris Yeltsin to take immediate actions to resolve the conflict on the basis of law. The statement of the Presidium of the Moscow Council expressed concern over the "rapid" deterioration of health of their 11 colleagues who began a hunger strike to press for the fulfillment of the Moscow City council decision to appoint General Vyacheslav Komissarov as Moscow police chief.

The presidium declared that there was a need for the immediate consideration of the conflict by Russian and Moscow leaders. To this end, the Moscow City Council

chairman Nikolay Gonchar was instructed to meet immediately with Russian President Yeltsin.

The Moscow City Council Presidium pointed out to the Moscow mayor that the decisions of the Moscow City Council were binding on him.

Moscow City, Oblast Leaders Issue Statement

PM1809102991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Report by A. Shinkin: "They 'Woke Up' and Issued a Statement"]

[Text] In this statement, party leaders in Moscow and Moscow Oblast note that today there can be no talk of dissolving the party, as this decision can only be taken by a CPSU congress: Likewise, its prohibition is the prerogative of the USSR Supreme Court. The question of party property must be solved in line with USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic laws on ownership and social organizations.

It goes on to affirm the need to give the Moscow and Moscow Oblast leadership a chance—in the near future—to hold conferences (meetings) of representatives from rayon and city party organizations, and the Moscow region as a whole, so as to define the ultimate fate of our organizations.

Today, every individual has the right to political self-determination. During the suspension of the CPSU, party leaders advise communists to preserve restraint and calm while simultaneously striving for a constitutional solution on the restoration of CPSU rights.

Deputies' Plan for Moscow's Status Approved

PM1809145591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by V. Belikov: "Deputies Approve Capital's Status"]

[Text] Four versions of the draft RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Law on Moscow's Status—as Russia's capital—were submitted for discussion by an extraordinary Moscow City Soviet session held 12 September.

Determining the authorship of each document was not difficult. If it gives priority to the functions of executive power, that means it was prepared by City Hall (or more precisely, the mayor's department). But if the powers of representative authority take precedence, the draft was elaborated by Moscow City Soviet deputies. A comparison table of the "principal differences" whose 10 points reflect the chronic conflict for the capital's authorities between City Hall and the body of deputies has even been appended for clarity's sake to one of the versions.

The main differences are these. The deputies' draft is based on the idea that city government members and

prefects of administrative okrugs should be confirmed by Moscow City Soviet, whereas the City Hall draft law does not envisage this procedure. The deputies' version proposes that Moscow City Soviet's decisions have the force of city laws and are implemented under the protection of the courts, the prosecutor's office, and the militia. The alternative version does not require this. Finally, according to the draft law from the deputies' working group, the city administration structure is confirmed by Moscow City Soviet, while the City Hall version states that confirmation must be made by the capital's mayor.

As could be immediately surmised, as a result of a whole day of debate the text of the draft law proposed by the executive authority was completely rejected and the deputies' group version adopted as a basis and sent to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet as Moscow City Soviet's official proposal. At the next Russian parliamentary session, which opens in a week, the document will be considered along with the two other versions of the draft RSFSR law already prepared by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

Moscow City Hall Secretariat Clarifies:

The report aired on Central Television on the evening of 12 September about G. Popov's preinfarction [predynfarktnoye] condition does not correspond to the facts. Despite being indisposed, Gavriil Kharitonovich was at work from Friday morning and was working on current affairs.

Moscow Government Session Discusses Privatization

PM1909084591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by Valentina Kudelina: "Warmth and Food Wanted"]

[Text] On 17 September a session devoted to the main topics of the day was held in the Moscow government. Four questions were discussed: "the progress in privatizing trade in Moscow," "the fulfillment of contracts to provide Moscow's trading enterprises with consumer goods," "the clearing of territories for mass construction and engineering groundwork there in Moscow for 1991-1992," and "the city's preparation for winter."

The empty stores shelves and the long lines, the obsessive rumors about the forthcoming hunger and cold which are today's sign of the times cannot but demand resolute actions from the authorities.

In assessing the decisions on trade taken by the Moscow government, V.A. Kozlov, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic deputy minister of trade, noted with satisfaction that they are of a constructive nature and clearly define the sequence of actions and measure of responsibility of each official.

"For the first time since the abortive attempt at various discussions which only eroded the essence of the matter, we are dealing with a thoughtful, specific system of measures. In particular talks will begin immediately with Western firms on their advance delivery of goods to the capital and oblast.

Mayor Sobchak Comments on Food Situation

LD2009154391 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Voskoboinikov]

[Text] London, 20 Sep (TASS)—St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak considers that it is incorrect to talk about free food aid from the West to the Soviet Union—the problem must be solved in another way. He is convinced that the difficulties with food in the USSR arise "artificially to a considerable degree" and that it would be "senseless" for the West to give food aid to "Russia as a whole"—there must be a clear, planned mechanism. He expressed his views on the issue of what such a mechanism could be to British Prime Minister John Major, who showed "interest" in the St. Petersburg mayor's concept and even discussed details of the given project. Anatoliy Sobchak, who is presently on a private visit to London at the invitation of the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, said this in an interview to a TASS correspondent.

Explaining the essence of his conception which, as an official spokesman for No. 10 Downing Street confirmed, really did greatly interest the head of the British Government, the mayor said: "The essence of the project consists of departing from the system of humanitarian aid (to the USSR), from the system of SOPs to a system of economic cooperation which would give impetus to the development of our economy, in the first place to the creation of a new market infrastructure, and the mass development of farming and small businesses. I proposed the following version: Not to give as humanitarian aid all the food aid which we undoubtedly need this winter and which the West is prepared to offer the Soviet Union from its food surpluses, but to sell it on the Soviet market, at Soviet prices, for Soviet rubles. From the money raised a single investment fund should be created which will be in the hands of the West (let's say, this could be a department of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development) with a set purpose—to develop farming and small businesses (in the USSR). Again this would not be done for free: Loans would either be given with some small interest or completely without interest—depending on the business concerned. Thus we would get a mechanism for creating a genuine market infrastructure."

As A. Sobchak indicated, we need to introduce people to the reality in conditions of the market economy, but today only the "shadow economy" has really been introduced with its "fairly free, if not criminal morals." "The

normal honest person simply does not have the possibility of buying a shop or opening a private enterprise," he continued. "There are ideas, there is education, there is knowledge and the desire, but there is no money. That is how it is for the vast majority of people." By selling food from Western countries on the Soviet market, according to him, in the first place it would be possible to satiate the market, since "the population has enough money, and people in need will be provided for by the authorities." (This would save the country from the necessity of opening thousands of distributors).

Second, the danger would disappear that a large part of the food "would be lost" as a result of theft and so on. "Most importantly," the St. Petersburg mayor stressed, "we would create a constantly acting mechanism—if not an eternal motor, then in any case a powerful motor for future economic development." A. Sobchak noted that the successful realization of his project would help the purposeful trips of entrepreneurial Soviet people abroad where they would learn work at enterprises similar to the ones which they themselves want to create. In a year or two, he said, we would get "a completely new category of entrepreneurs," and the face of our economy would change. Moreover, the St. Petersburg mayor claimed, within the framework of this project "there arises the possibility of switching food surpluses from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary to the Soviet Union, resurrecting the previous system of economic relations between our countries and thus helping the economies of both these states and the USSR."

In A. Sobchak's opinion, "in theory there is very little less food in the Soviet Union today than before," and the problems "arise artificially to a considerable extent." "I would draw an analogy with the artificially created famine of 1928-29, after which throughout politics there was a dramatic change towards dictatorship," he said. "There were reasons in 1928 and there are different reasons now. For us they are linked to having declared independence and set up customs barriers and what's more not only between republics but even between regions. Each area is now trying to keep all its food to itself. But this is a short-sighted policy since in each region surpluses of one thing are produced while something else is not produced at all. As a result, we now have a situation when, like last year, tens of millions of tonnes of grain which were retained in Kazakhstan went to feed cattle."

The mayor of St. Petersburg believes that difficulties with food could scarcely threaten the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, or the Central Asian republics. According to Sobchak, only "interruption" in supplies could hit these republics and only because of customs barriers.

"The greatest problem in connection with the threat of famine arises in Russia's large industrial towns, above all those like Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk, etc.," he stressed. "For these towns the danger really does exist." As A. Sobchak reported, yesterday in a conversation with John Mayor he gave his opinion as

to who should be granted aid. "In order to solve the matter of aid allocation, a representative commission should be set up as a matter of urgency, made up of politicians and economists from the European Community and the G-7, while from our side it could include representatives of the Union committee for inter-republican economic relations and representatives of the republics and those towns where aid is needed," he said.

According to the St. Petersburg mayor, "it is futile to give aid to Russia as a whole" since it is possible that all trace of that aid would then be lost. Such aid could simply "lie around" somewhere or even "fall into the hands of the shadow economy once again and end up being used for speculation."

Yesterday THE DAILY TELEGRAPH carried an interview with A. Sobchak for the paper and, the journalist wrote, the mayor of St. Petersburg was severely critical of the West, in particular Britain, for lack of haste in organizing effective cooperation with the Soviet Union.

"I am critical of the West for continuing to talk more than engage in real action and because it often proceeds from a selfish understanding of the situation that has arisen and, like many of our own statesmen, it is incapable of looking at tomorrow," said the mayor in clarification. "The situation is such that if we do not correct things today, then it will cost the West and the rest of the world a great deal more than all the sums being invested in the Soviet Union through channels of cooperation and economic aid."

"There is not a one example of a Western investor's money being lost," the mayor noted. "On the contrary, all those who invest with us are happy, English entrepreneurs included. The excessive caution is not even dictated so much by purely commercial as, perhaps, by political considerations." They say, "Let's see what will come of this. There is no need to make the Soviet Union stronger; it might even be better in an enfeebled state because then it will not be a threat to us. But the threat comes from something else today—not from aggressiveness."

Deputy Stankevich Meets Voters, Answers Questions

PM1909103191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 3

[Report by Sergey Stupar: "Stankevich Favors Search for Sensible Options"]

[Text] At a recent meeting with voters, Sergey Stankevich, first deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] state counsellor, speaking of the future of the Union, categorically disagreed with the opinion that a separate life for the former Soviet and now sovereign republics is a normal state for them and that any association of republics within the framework of some kind of union could only be the result of violence. "I believe," Sergey Stankevich said, "that there is a sensible

option between the repressive empire forged by violent means and the total separation of the republics. It is possible to find an option for their sensible coexistence and we must do everything to ensure that this option exists. Work is now being done to create sensible Union relations. All that is needed are good will and talks. It all depends on us, on those who at least lay claim to the name of democrats."

Speaking of his attitude toward the hunger strike by the Moscow Soviet deputies, Sergey Stankevich voiced the hope that it would not go on and that the two conflicting sides will reach mutual agreement.

Speaking of the 96th decree of the RSFSR president, which expands the powers of the mayor of Moscow, Sergey Stankevich noted "some excesses" in the document, he said, "by the situation which took shape as a result of the coup and immediately after it." "But these excesses could be painlessly removed by the Russian Supreme Soviet," Sergey Stankevich said, "by adopting a relevant resolution which would entirely absorb the decree and remove those elements which generate tension."

Sergey Stankevich answered numerous questions from his voters.

Businessmen 'Split' Over Yeltsin 28 Aug Decree

LD1809085991 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT
17 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow September 17 TASS—As a confrontation between Moscow's business circles and city authorities grows, "the Moscow government expands state structures and interferes in business activities, which not only forms an opposition but also affects the economy," Konstantin Borovoi, chief manager of the Russian Commodity and Raw Materials Exchange, said.

Another Moscow businessman says Democrats use powers they received after last month's failed putsch in the same way as their predecessors did.

After Moscow was declared a zone unfavourable for business enterprise, several dozens of financial and commercial enterprises moved out of Moscow, stripping its budget of ten million roubles daily.

The controversy was provoked by Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree of August 28, which granted the Moscow mayor the right to set limits for wholesale and retail prices and tariffs, ban contracted prices, impose additional taxes and control privatisation.

Borovoi believes a withdrawal of businesses from Moscow to St. Petersburg, Zelenograd or Kaliningrad may result in "Moscow's death". Apart from billions of roubles in tax revenues the city receives from these business structures, primarily exchanges, it could also

use them to employ hundreds of thousands of people, who may soon lose their jobs.

Borovoi said 40 exchanges warned Yeltsin that if he does not cancel the decree, they will not recommend brokers participate in deals at Moscow's exchanges. He described Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov's position as "suicidal".

Igor Safaryan, director of the Brok-Invest-Service Society and a member of the Moscow Convention of Entrepreneurs, expressed "definitely negative" reaction to the decree.

He believes, however, the convention has been "too hysterical". He says the Moscow authorities' "anti-market" moves can obviously be accounted for by "some idealism characteristic of people of the 60's". He said that on the whole, entrepreneurs "are interested in firm power and stability" but "fear purely administrative moves".

The Moscow business world seems to be split over this controversy, as leaders of some major exchanges and commercial structures have sent a letter to Yeltsin and Popov, expressing their disagreement with their colleagues' decision. At the same time, they hope the Russian and Moscow leaders will show goodwill.

Moscow-St. Petersburg Railway To Be Built

OW1709000991 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2037 GMT 16 Sep 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of Russia Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree to build a speed railway between St. Petersburg and Moscow. A joint stock company is being set up to carry out the project. The state will hold the control shares. The government of Russia undertakes to build and manage the line.

Defence industry facilities undergoing conversion will be used in the project.

Bashkiria Forms Hard Currency Reserve

OW1709000891 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2037 GMT 16 Sep 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Bashkiria, a former autonomy in the Russian Federation on the Volga River, has formed its own hard currency reserve. Contributions to the reserve will be made by businesses involved in foreign economic activity.

Ten percent of the donations from local businesses having hard currency revenue will go to Bashkiria's own fund and 90 to the Union and Russian hard currency reserves.

Chuvash Republic Dismisses Newspaper Editors*LD1709115691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Sep 91*

[Text] In connection with the events of 19-21 August, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Chuvash Republic has adopted a resolution to dismiss the leaders of the republican mass media—in particular, Balshevov, chairman of the Chuvash Republic State Committee for Television and Radio; Kirillov, editor of the republican newspaper SOVETSKAYA CHUVASHIYA; and Kazanov, editor of ZNAMYA KOMMUNIZMA, which is now called VEST.

Underuse of Kamchatka Thermal Deposits Criticized*OW1909044491 Moscow Central Television First
Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 0930 GMT
17 Sep 91*

[Report by V. Plotskiy from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Begin recording] [Plotskiy] Regretfully, today there is only one sovkhos [state farm] on the peninsula specializing in growing vegetables and which makes use of the Sredne-Paratunka subterranean deposit of hot water. Obviously, it is unable to supply the oblast residents with even a minimum of heat-loving fresh vegetables. In recent years, the greenhouse thermal complex of the sovkhos started receiving less and less thermal water for heating.

[Dudareva] Because of a lack of heat, we will have to pick them while they are still green. This is the best we can do. They will not get any bigger; they will not ripen.

[Plotskiy] What will the damage be?

[Dudareva] Well, from this greenhouse we will collect about two tonnes less than we should.

[Plotskiy] The Verkhne-Paratunka deposit of thermal water has a capacity of 260 liters of hot water per second. The temperature of the water is 90 degrees, and it is only 10 km away from the sovkhos. The only thing missing is the timely construction of a pipeline between the deposit and the sovkhos.

One cannot say that, for all these years, nothing has been said about this pipeline. The paper hurricane surrounding Verkhne-Paratunka has not calmed to this day. Although the pipeline is practically ready for use, one minor problem remains: The pipeline stops short at a distance of 1 km from the nearest well. This is where it stopped. One must add that the development of the deposit is the responsibility of the Kamchatburgeo-thermia [Kamchatka geothermal drilling administration]. However, having received the site in 1988, the collective has not moved a finger, as they say. One would think that the time has come to put a stop to the monopoly held by the Gazprom [gas industry] concern over Kamchatka's steam, water, and thermal deposits, and, in turn, hand

over these deposits to the local soviets. Undoubtedly, much more good would come of this. [end recording]

Yeltsin's Omsk Representative Defends Policy*LD1709133791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Sep 91*

[Text] The representative of the Russian president for Omsk Oblast, Aleksandr Minzhurenko, has made a statement in the press about the incorrect interpretation of his functions by the population and by many leaders of enterprises and organizations. The author noted that opinions are being circulated about the introduction of Yeltsin's dictatorship through his representatives, about the beginning of the implementation of an authoritarian regime, etc. Referring to the temporary regulations about representatives of the president of Russia, he emphasized that no state of emergency has been introduced since he began work. The structures of local authority and administration and law enforcement bodies are continuing to operate.

Displaced Families Stage Sit-In in N. Ossetia*OW1709184491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1630 GMT 17 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sixty-seven Ossetian families who had to leave their homes in South Ossetia and other regions of Georgia have begun a sit-in in Vladikavkaz (North Ossetia) in front of the House of Soviets.

A participant, Tsiuri Sokurova, told IF [INTERFAX] that the "refugees protested against inhuman treatment". She said most of the refugees could not secure even temporary residence permit and, accordingly, jobs. Moreover, children were not admitted to schools and child-care centres without residence permit.

Meanwhile, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet's Commission for Ethnic Relations, Taimuraz Kusov, said that "refugees would not be given any residence permits because the republic physically could not provide so many people with housing." "There are 55,000 of them at the moment," he added.

Sixty-seven refugee families will continue their protest till "the victorious end".

Siberian Farmers Sign Petition on State Subsidies*LD1709093891 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT
16 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Valentin Pavlov]

[Text] Barnaul September 16 TASS—Siberian farmers have sent an ultimatum to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, Ivan Silayev. The 14 clauses of the ultimatum were worked out by rural work collectives and supported by trade unions of

11 regions, territories of the autonomous republics located in Eastern and Western Siberia.

The farm workers, suffering from the non-equivalent exchange between the countryside and townspeople and the disintegrating system of material supplies, demand state subsidies to ensure equivalent prices for farm produce and industrial products, the prompt promulgation of an anti-monopoly law, easier loans, exemption from the five-per cent tax on sales and wages reform in the countryside to bring double pay to field and farm workers.

If these demands are not met, Siberian collective and state farms threaten to discontinue sales of farm produce to the union and republican funds at state-fixed prices and to begin a collective act of protest.

They have notified Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin of their intention.

Mordovian Supreme Soviet Resignation Demanded

PM1909093191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 2

[TASS report: "One More Resignation?"]

[Text] Force the Mordovian Supreme Soviet to resign en bloc—that was the unanimous demand of the participants of a general city meeting held in the republic's capital and organized by the local branch of the "Democratic Russia" movement.

The present parliament does not suit the inhabitants of the autonomous republic because of its inability to resolve problems of the economy and the social sphere. The population's displeasure was completed by the Supreme Soviet's assessment of its own actions during the coup, which was used to try to justify its cowardice in the face of the putschists and the sabotage of the orders of the legally elected leadership of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

External Affairs

Officials Tell U.S. Bankers of Hopes for Help

OW1809185491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Deputy Premier Igor Gavrillov and Economy Minister Yevgeniy Saburov met in Moscow on Wednesday with U.S. bankers and businessmen attending the public conference "Chattoqua," an event held in parallel with the CSCE Conference on Human Rights. The parties discussed the problem of how private entrepreneurs in the United States can help people in Russia.

The Americans indicated their assistance could be huge if a number of conditions were met. One would be the

introduction of private ownership of land in Russia. According to one of the quests, the system of factory ownership should be clarified too, for U.S. entrepreneurs to "know for certain who they are dealing with." Another major requirement would be to do everything to preserve the Soviet Union as a single economic market.

Igor Gavrillov said Russia was first and foremost hoping for assistance in creating a network of family farms. Of the 12.3 million hectares reserved in Russia for the purpose, only 1.8 million hectares were under active development, which should be attributed to the shortage of mini tractors, fertilizers, etc., Gavrillov said. In his view, the main difficulty was the absence of a well-developed infrastructure. The deputy premier also said Russia's oil industry needed small-sized oil-processing facilities, pipelines and oil-extracting equipment.

Khasbulatov Interviewed on Japan Visit

PM1809150191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 2

[Report on interview with Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) Supreme Soviet, by TASS correspondent Vasilii Golovin in Japan specially for ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA; date not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Ruslan Khasbulatov: Relations With Japan Can Be Built Only on the Basis of Talks"]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] delegation has caused a kind of sensation in Tokyo since the local politicians and businessmen heard from the Russian representatives, as one newspaper put it, "new words couched in new tones." The results of the talks are being commented on with animation here both by Foreign Ministry professionals and by the mass media. I am sure that in the very near future they will give rise to an amendment of Tokyo's present position regarding our country. But readers will obviously be interested to hear an assessment of the visit from its main protagonist—Ruslan Khasbulatov—who gave an interview to a TASS correspondent.

[Golovin] Ruslan Imranovich, what is the main role which your delegation set itself during its numerous meetings and talks in Japan?

[Khasbulatov] We came here essentially to bring our political line to Japan's top politicians. We want them to understand that they cannot be oriented toward yesterday—toward the Soviet Union and central departments. Unfortunately, that is already a myth. I by no means rejoice in the fact that today the Soviet Union which once existed and in which we took pride now no longer exists. But under the new conditions it is we who must assume the former functions of the USSR.

[Golovin] In Japan, people are widely discussing B.N. Yeltsin's plan aimed at regulating the territorial dispute with Japan and concluding a peace treaty with it. Please describe in more detail Russia's stance regarding Japan.

[Khasbulatov] I should like to draw your attention to the fact that B.N. Yeltsin's statement on Japan was made in January last year. That was long before we came to power. Under those conditions it was exclusively a radical statement. First, it acknowledged that there is a territorial problem. After all you recall how relations with Japan used to be built—as relations between conqueror and vanquished. And suddenly one eminent politician states that there is a problem and it must be resolved. Second, Boris Nikolayevich suggested a specific plan, five stages. Let future generations decide, but Yeltsin proposed his own technology for resolving this problem.

Now the situation is changing. First, Yeltsin has become the head of Russia and we must now bear responsibility for the solution of state problems. Of course, the Russian leadership may be held captive by views voiced 18 months ago. But before leaving for Japan we had a thorough talk with Boris Nikolayevich and we agreed that his program is a good basis and is possibly the platform of our relations with Japan. But we by no means consider ourselves bound by this plan—you know, like Kipling said, "they will not move from the spot."

No, these stages could be reviewed and reduced. It is even possible to renounce this approach entirely. Although in principle it is quite positive—after all it is a case of a gradual, stage by stage solution of this problem.

But we totally renounce ideas that we are the conquerors and Japan is a vanquished country, that it should obey us, and so forth. Next, we believe that Japan is our great neighbor, and we must develop our relations in a neighborly manner. Consequently, we must capture their interest and befriend them. For that it is necessary to remove the contradictions, to agree on matters, including the territorial question. Of course, we must also consider the opinion of the local authorities and the population of these islands.

At the same time we would like the Japanese side to set an example of its participation in the solution of our very complex questions. That is why, although it is unpleasant, I have had to speak of large-scale economic aid from the Japanese state, public, and business world. Of course, it is not a case of the \$100 million which they have already allocated to us. In my view we need \$8-15 billion. I think that this emergency aid could begin in December this year.

We are prepared for Japanese specialists to monitor the manner of distribution of this aid, which means not only deliveries of food and consumer goods but also the creation of an infrastructure and a road and distribution network. We are prepared to recruit experts from the IMF and from Europe. By a decree the Russian president could also appoint special agents for this since bureaucracy and corruption are still very developed in our country. We are prepared to accept the Japanese side's terms here.

I will tell you honestly that the present attempted coup did not succeed, but can we guarantee that the next coup will not succeed? I doubt it. And I would very much like the idea to prevail among the Japanese public that Russia must be helped irrespective of how questions connected with the territories are resolved. And we will resolve this problem.

[Golovin] How do you assess the Japanese side's position during your visit?

[Khasbulatov] I would not like to say that everything is good. At the first stage, as I understood it, there was a cautious attitude, reconnaissance, as it were. At the second stage a kind of trust appeared. And the concluding day, in particular the meeting with the foreign minister, seemed to me very constructive. It seems to me that a level of trust was achieved to a considerable degree.

But I by no means overestimate the results of our visit. I should like large specific results in the matter of rendering aid to Russia. But to be honest I received no such assurances. I do not want to say that I am disappointed but I felt no particular optimism. From the Japanese side's statements I realized that it is still trying to orient itself toward the Soviet Union and Gorbachev. You know that practically everything we do is confirmed by the central administration. But it looks as though this reality is not yet reaching the Japanese ruling circles, who are displaying a certain inertia and imagine the world as it was before the coup.

But the new situation is that all relations with Japan can be built only on the basis of talks with Russia. That is not a claim, it is reality.

[Golovin] Can you compare the approach toward Russia on the part of Japan and of the West?

[Khasbulatov] Of course. The United States, for instance, is prepared to give us emergency aid of up to \$50 billion. Its only concern is how the distribution network operates. The United States is prepared even before the beginning of October to provide its specialists to help us here.

[Golovin] What stance does Russia take with regard to the payment of the USSR's foreign debt?

[Khasbulatov] Russia's share has been calculated as 67 percent of the Soviet Union's debt. We do not shirk our duties and we shall pay the debts.

[Golovin] Does Russia intend to advocate the reduction of armed forces in the Far East?

[Khasbulatov] Undoubtedly. Previously I suggested that our military budget be reduced by \$50 billion as early as this year. Not at the expense of the personnel, at the expense of the officers and ensigns living in poverty, but by reducing military bases and the arms race. Of course, we shall also lead matters toward the reduction of the military infrastructure in the Far East. I do not think that

we are threatened by anything from Japan. That is simply absurd—building defense installations in the belief that Japan may attack us. I adhere to this approach and I shall use all my influence to reduce the military infrastructure there.

[Golovin] Does it not seem to you that the Far East may with time make the selfsame claims on the Russian center that the republics are now making on the Union center?

[Khasbulatov] No. There is the state, there is its unity, there is indivisibility. And we shall not allow any half-formed separatist gestures, including economic gestures. As for the sovereignty of the Russian autonomous bodies, it is possible within the limits stipulated by the law.

[Golovin] What is your attitude toward free economic zones?

[Khasbulatov] Initially our calculations were built on socialism being the predominant system and that in the free economic zones there would be enclaves of entrepreneurship. But now the situation has changed, the entire national economic system is changing, obviously amendments to the concept of these zones should also be made. For the transitional period they have the right to exist. But I would not idealize them.

[Golovin] What is your attitude toward the problem of nuclear weapons in the Soviet Union?

[Khasbulatov] On this question there can be no deals: Nuclear weapons must be conveyed to Russian territory. That is unequivocal. We had a conference with the generals six months ago and at the time I asked Yazov whether he would transfer nuclear weapons to Russia. He promised to, but did nothing. You realize that nuclear weapons could be a target for terrorists' attacks. That is why we must adopt an unswerving stance on this issue.

Khasbulatov Comments in Japan Not 'Proper'

PM1809102391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by S. Agafonov: "Khasbulatov Gives Yavlinskiy Away to Japan. Instead—for the Time Being—of the Islands"]

[Text] Tokyo—I understand perfectly that these notes could cause an emotional protest, because we are talking about a statesman who made a great personal contribution to the victory over the putschists. I also realize that the new generation's leaders do not necessarily have to be guided by the traditional frameworks of diplomatic protocol. However, it remains important that citizens have the right to know how they are being represented abroad and the right to determine their approval or disagreement for themselves on the basis of the facts.

The facts are these.

The subject of discussion is the visit to Japan by Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, which ended Friday. Or, more precisely, the last day of his official program, which included a news conference, a reception in honor of the delegation, and a meeting with his fellow countrymen in the embassy club.

Khasbulatov's news conference began with his informing the audience of the presence in the Russian parliament of an "anti-Khasbulatov bloc," which nevertheless did not affect his resolve to continue "mocking fools." He then told the Japanese how "we (Khasbulatov and Yeltsin) suggested to Gorbachev how he should behave during his visit to Japan." Then the orator—and this was somewhat unusual in terms of local traditions—silenced a reporter who had overstepped the mark by making a direct comparison between him and the parliamentary deputies whom he usually "mocks."

After this the following assessment of economist G. Yavlinskiy, who is well known in Japan, was heard: "I am the only political figure in the Soviet Union to have a distinctly negative attitude to this boy. He is always sticking his nose in where it is not wanted... We have gotten completely sick and tired of hearing his name, which is mentioned all the time in connection with our reforms even though he has nothing to do with them. If you (Japanese) like him so much, then maybe you could take him for yourselves. I will willingly let you have him... Yavlinskiy is mainly engaged in reading your literature and America's and then serving up other people's ideas as his own—that is what he is good at."

Yavlinskiy was not the only target of criticism whose severity many people here considered not altogether proper. The assessments of Gorbachev and the hitherto guiltless USSR Foreign Minister Pankin were distinguished by their savagery. Calling the minister an ambassador (a slip of the tongue, but excusable for a nonprofessional), Khasbulatov stated that "if the new ambassador Comrade Pankin does not accept it (Russian leadership in foreign policy), we will replace him with another ambassador."

And the rejoinder directed at Yeltsin was quite unexpected. Replying to an inoffensive Japanese question about the contents of the letter handed over by Khasbulatov to Prime Minister Kaifu on the Russian president's instructions, the elevated guest said that it is not the president who determines the course of the republic's foreign policy but the Supreme Soviet of which he, Khasbulatov, is currently the leader.

After the news conference an official reception was given in honor of the delegation at the USSR Embassy in Tokyo. The host of the reception hastened to assure the guests the moment they crossed the Russian [as published] embassy threshold that it is they, the Russians, who are especially welcomed, loved, and embraced here. It was also explained to the guests that Russia has filled the vacuum of central power and that henceforth only the Russian voice will be crucial both in international

affairs generally and in bilateral affairs specifically. Japanese aid is for Russia only, the solution to the territorial question is with Russia only. In short, "the Russian spirit is here..."

This theme was continued in a somewhat unexpected way. Obviously fully aware of how highly diplomats value their foreign postings, Khasbulatov made it quite clearly understood that any person not behaving himself while working for the good of Russia faced an early departure home. It was indicated to the ambassador that he would remain in post for as long as he remained "personally committed to Russia's president, parliament, and leadership."

In many countries it is considered a strict tradition not to discuss internal political conflicts in front of foreigners. It is possible that in the current revolutionary situation such restrictions seem burdensome to certain leaders. However, it is by our leaders' opinions that we will be judged.

S. Kuril Population Wants To Stay With Russia

*OW1609225391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1845 GMT 16 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The population of the south Kurils consider the islands their native area and an inalienable part of Russia, in accordance with the appeal of the presidium of the south Kuril district soviet of people's deputies to the Russian government and the Japanese people.

According to the appeal authors, lately RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Boris Yeltsin and Japanese parliamentary leaders made statements concerning the possibility of handing over to Japan of the so-called "Northern Territories."

"The political adventurism of the former leaders of the USSR and Japan during and after WWII cannot provide a basis for the proposed resolution of the issue of 'Northern Territories'."

The presidium of the district council of the south Kurils urged the world public opinion to "take into consideration the rights and interests of the island population and to study in greater detail the socioeconomic aspects of the territorial problem."

Kamchatka-Japan Trade Cooperation Pact Signed

*LD1909034691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 2200 GMT 17 Sep 91*

[Summary] A memorandum has just been signed on cooperation between Kamchatka Oblast and the Japanese-Soviet Trade Association, which includes more than 100 firms. The agreement envisages expanding relations in geology, prospecting for mineral deposits, and developing the processing sectors of Kamchatka's industry and agriculture. Joint enterprises in a wide

variety of areas are to be opened. Japanese shops will open in Kamchatka. There will be tourist and school exchanges.

Western Experts To Examine Joint Projects

*OW1709000391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2037 GMT 16 Sep 91*

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Mayor's Office of St. Petersburg (Leningrad) has reached agreement with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the European Council on regular inquiries by Western experts into the city's plans for cooperation with foreign firms.

A Mayor's Office spokesman has said that in the first place experts will probe into the feasibility of the Soviet-German project for commissioning facilities in St. Petersburg to brew Holstein beer and the agreement to build a Coca-Cola plant.

Experts believe that the failure of the coup in the USSR has proved an incentive to greater activity for Western firms. Currently, the heaviest investments into the city are being made by U.S., British, Italian and German firms.

Knesset Group Arrives for Talks With Parliament

*OW1609185291 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1700 GMT 16 Sep 91*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A delegation of Israeli parliament, Knesset, is in Moscow at the invitation of Russia's parliament. It includes members of the committee on emigration and absorption: Josef Beilin of the Labor Party, formerly policy director of Israel's Foreign Ministry and deputy finance minister; Uzi Baram, formerly the Labor Party's general secretary; and Gershon Shafat of the "Thia" party. The delegation is led by the chairman of a parliamentary committee Michael Klainer of Likud.

It's the first visit of such a high ranking Israeli delegation to Moscow in the past quarter of a century. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken by the USSR in 1967.

As DP has learned, a major goal of this visit is to promote the development of contacts between Israeli and Russian parliaments (at the moment a delegation of Russian MPs [Member of Parliament] led by Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the committee on international affairs and external economic ties, is visiting Israel), normalize diplomatic relations between Israel and the USSR in full and further mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation. Besides, the Israeli MPs aim to resolve specific problems connected with the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. Moscow no longer hinders

Jewish emigration. Under the bill on entry into and exit from the USSR the Jews emigrating to Israel have the right to retain their Soviet citizenship. Nevertheless still there are problems, such as the arrangement of charter flights from the USSR to Israel and the settlement of Soviet Jews there.

These problems have been discussed at meetings between the Israeli delegation and leading members of Russia's parliament. For instance, the delegation conferred with Sergey Kovalev, formerly a political prisoner and now the chairman of Russia's parliamentary committee on human rights and cochairman of the Soviet delegation to the Conference on Human Dimension in progress in Moscow in the framework of the CSCE, and with Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, deputy chairman of Russia's parliamentary committee on international affairs and external economic ties. The program of this visit also includes talks at the foreign ministry of the Russian Federation (a meeting with Russia's foreign minister Andrey Kozyrev is not ruled out) and at the USSR foreign ministry (deputy foreign minister Alexander Belonogov is expected to receive the Israeli delegation).

Trade Cooperation Accord Signed With Estonia

LD1809081591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 2000 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] A treaty on trade cooperation for next year between Estonia and the Russian Federation was concluded today.

The document, signed on our republic's behalf by Ivan Silayev, envisages that future trade will be conducted on the basis of clearing and that in doing so the sides will be guided by world prices and by the quality of the output. [sentence as recieved]

Delegation Leader Views Moldova Situation

LD1809211391 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" Program]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet delegation which is in

Moldova will, on its return, inform Boris Yeltsin about the state of affairs in the republic, said Sergey Krasavchenko, the delegation's leader.

[Begin Recording] [Krasavchenko] Our general impression is that the crisis may be resolved if there is strict observance of legality. No instance of the violation of human rights has been found by the parliament of Moldova or the Moldovan authorities. On the other hand, one can speak, by and large, not about human rights violations, but about difficulties with the implementation of the human rights of, let's say, the Moldavian population in that same Tiraspol.

[Correspondent M. Sokirke] Have you detected any anticonstitutional acts by the leaders of the Pridnestrovye in Tiraspol?

[Krasavchenko] A mass of anticonstitutional acts were carried out, from the very outset, by those people you are referring to as the leaders of the Pridnestrovye, starting with the holding of a referendum, the proclamation of the Dnestr Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic and... starting with that, and right up to the anticonstitutional acts that are now taking place, being carried out, on the territory of the Pridnestrovye too—I mean primarily the rail blockade. [end recording]

Buryat-Mongolian, Democratic Parties Form Bloc

PM1909093791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 2

[TASS report: "Parties Have United"]

[Text] The joint meeting of members of the Buryat-Mongolian People's Party and the regional branch of the Democratic Party of Russia ended yesterday with the creation of an interparty bloc. During the exchange of opinions its participants noted that one of the main aims has been achieved—the communists' monopoly has been eliminated in the republic. The meeting elaborated a plan of joint actions.

Belorussia

Own Defense, National Security System Planned

LD2309221691 Moscow TASS in English
2137 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Yevgeniy Gorelik and Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy]

[Text] Minsk September 23 TASS—The Belarusan parliament has decided to organize its own defence and national security system.

The concept of building the republic's armed forces is based on principles of rejection of the threat or use of force and the recognition of the inviolability of borders.

Belarus does not seek to play the role of a great power and has no global interests needing defence by military forces. It regards its own armed forces as an integral part of the European security system, mainly built on the principle of their sufficiency for solving any military conflicts by political methods on the basis of collective security agreements, including under U.N. auspices.

The parliament decided to transfer the border guard and customs services located in Belarusan territory to the jurisdiction of the republic government.

On the border with Poland, the regime of the USSR state border will prevail.

Beginning from this autumn, Belarusan conscripts will serve on republic territory and, if so wanting, beyond its boundaries, but only with the Soviet Armed Forces. The term of service is cut down to 18 months.

"Most of the Belarusan parliamentarians showed understanding of the indisputable fact that the defensive nuclear potential, including deployed on territories of sovereign republics, must remain in the same hands and have the same command point," commander of the Belarusan Military District Colonel-General Anatoliy Kostenko said.

However, he categorically opposed the existence within the boundaries of the same region—Belarus in this case—of military units subordinate to different power structures: the Belarusan Military District with its commandment and general headquarters in Moscow and the Belarusan Army subordinate to the republic government.

According to Kostenko, this is fraught with conflicts.

Ukraine

Details of Kravchuk Three-Day Visit to Canada

LD2309172991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1145 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets]

[Text] Ottawa, Sep 23 (TASS)—Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, arrived here on Sunday for a three-day visit at the invitation of John Fraser, speaker of the House of Commons of the Canadian Parliament.

The same day, a declaration on future relations between Canada and the Ukraine was signed at an official ceremony at the Foreign Ministry. As already reported, Ottawa welcomed the Ukraine's declaration of independence, but stressed that official recognition of the republic's independence and the establishment of diplomatic relations can be considered only after the referendum scheduled to be held there in December. Signed by Barbara McDougall, Canadian secretary of state for External Affairs, and Anatoliy Zlenko, Ukrainian minister of Foreign Affairs, the document notes the desire of both parties to develop and intensify contacts at all levels, and to promote exchanges in politics, economics, science, education, and sport.

Speaking after the ceremonial signing of the declaration, B. McDougall stressed the importance of the visit, which coincides with the 100th anniversary of the beginning of Ukrainian immigration into Canada. This country, she said, has demonstrated its willingness and desire to expand bilateral relations in a number of fields, primarily via its consulate in Kiev.

"Here in Canada we represent the new Ukraine, a country with a 52 million strong multinational people who attained independence in August of this year," said L. Kravchuk in his reciprocal speech, and continued, "Now, only the Ukrainian constitution and laws are in force on Ukrainian territory, and this territory is indivisible and inviolable." The chairman of the Supreme Soviet noted further that the Ukraine will be a neutral state and member of no military bloc, and will adhere to three non-nuclear principles: it shall not accept, produce, or acquire nuclear weaponry.

L. Kravchuk subsequently met Brian Mulroney, the Canadian prime minister. Mulroney, he said, expressed willingness to consider all proposals to expand economic cooperation. This applies to Canadian involvement in developing the agricultural sector, transport, and defense-conversion sectors in the Ukraine. There is also an understanding with a Canadian firm concerning the printing of Ukrainian currency. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet stressed that he was not raising the issue of aid. The Ukraine was interested first and foremost in Canadian investment, for which the requisite legal framework is being created.

Law on Foreign Investment Protection Passed

LD2309163691 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0835 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Oleg Tokhtomysheva]

[Text] Kiev, 23 Sep (TASS)—Foreign investors are guaranteed the transfer abroad of their legally obtained profits and other sums, both in rubles and in foreign currency. This is stipulated by the law on the protection of foreign investment, published in the republican press today. Foreign investors are also ensured the right to reinvest their profits on the territory of the Ukraine. They pay taxes in accordance with the law.

Deputies' Statement Disapproves Political Structure

PM2409082991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent O. Mikhaylov: "Destroying Is Not Building"]

[Text] Kiev—A statement by 51 of the 250 USSR people's deputies who represent the Ukraine at the USSR Supreme Soviet was published in Kiev yesterday. The document, signed by Yu. Shcherbak, S. Ryabchenko, V. Oleynik, P. Talanchuk, V. Yavorivskiy, and others, states in particular: "...We consider the existing presidential form of rule approved by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, as well as the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Cabinet of Ministers to be structures which fail to reflect the real correlation of political forces in the USSR and society's interests. These structures should therefore be radically altered by legal means in accordance with the situation currently prevailing."

Moldova

General Kobets Arrives in Kishinev for Talks

LD2309235991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2112 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 23 Sep (TASS)—Army General Konstantin Kobets, chairman of the USSR State Council's committee for the drafting and implementation of military reform, arrived in Kishinev today at the invitation of the government of the Republic of Moldova. He is to have talks with Moldova's leaders, and with military figures in the republic. It is also planned for him to meet the officers and ensigns of military units stationed in the Dnestr Republic. They do not recognize as valid the decree of Moldova's president concerning the withdrawal from Moldova's territory of detachments of the Soviet Army from the Dnestr region, nor their replacement with formations of the armed forces of the Republic of Moldova. They express their "readiness, at the request of the people, to come to the defense of the population of the Dnestr Republic and of the legitimate local bodies of power against any armed formations."

In accordance with the constitution of the Dnestr Republic, which the parliament of Moldova deems anti-constitutional, a republican guard is being formed in the region.

Holds Discussion With Snegur

AU2309203991 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio
Network in Romanian 1937 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Report by special correspondent Ioan David from Chisinau (Kishinev)]

[Text] This afternoon, the president of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Ion Snegur, received General Konstantin Kobets, minister of defense of the Russian Federation, who has recently been appointed by the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to head the central commission in charge of reforming the Army.

I have to mention for our listeners, that General Kobets played a special role during the August Moscow coup when he assumed the organization of the defense of the Supreme Soviet headquarters that sheltered the representatives of democratic forces headed by Boris Yeltsin.

The dialogue of the president of the Republic of Moldova with the Russian defense minister was held behind closed doors. According to a statement by Mr. Nicolae Chirtoaca, the head of Moldovan Department for Military Issues, who attended the meeting, General Kobet's views—as far as the national armies and their role are concerned—coincide with the ideas of the leadership of the Republic of Moldova; however, certain difference of opinions can also be noted, differences that might be caused by differences in regional security strategy.

The Russian general referred only to general matters. Perhaps it is worth mentioning his statement that the problems of the pseudo-Dnestr Soviet Socialist Republic are problems of a purely political nature and that the army cannot interfere in the activity of finding solutions to those problems.

Since I mentioned the hot region of Transdnestr, I can also inform you, dear listeners, that a meeting of the city soviet was held in Tiraspol today. During that meeting several speakers, among them the head of the railway station, called for a halt to the railway blockade, while others conditioned [as received] this act to the transition of police units under the jurisdiction of the executive of the pseudo-republic. In this context, it is worth mentioning that up until now policemen refused the subordination and that the arrival of a commission on behalf of the USSR minister of interior, who has been insistently invited by the leaders of the separatists, is expected with great interest in Tiraspol. The delegation of the Interior Ministry of the Soviet Union is expected in Tiraspol on Wednesday, 25 September.

Tension Persists in the Dnestr Region Conflict

Snegur Chairs Security Council

AU2109180891 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio
Network in Romanian 1705 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Mr. Mircea Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, has chaired a working meeting of the Supreme

Security Council of the Republic that was held today, 21 September, in Chisinau [Kishinev]. Radio Chisinau reports.

On this occasion, the council examined developments in Transdnestr, especially measures taken by the government to carry out a positive program for the amelioration of the situation in that region.

The decision of Tiraspol City Soviet deputies was noted as a positive move. During the 20 September meeting, the deputies agreed on the need to unblock the railway and settle all differences through dialogue.

Leader Argues for Self-Determination

PM2309155391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Interview with G. Marakutsa, chairman of the Dnestr Republic Supreme Soviet, by correspondent A. Semenyaka in Moscow, date unspecified: "Dnestr Region: With the Union?"]

[Text] A group of people's deputies from the Dnestr region has arrived in Moscow. It has been meeting with representatives of the leadership of the country and the Russian Federation and has conveyed an appeal from the 750,000-strong population of the Dnestr region to the USSR State Council asking for the Dnestr Moldovan Republic to be recognized as a sovereign independent state within the renewed Union.

Our correspondent talked with delegation leader G. Marakutsa, chairman of the Dnestr Republic Supreme Soviet.

[Semenyaka] Grigoriy Stepanovich, the situation in Moldova is difficult. It has worsened considerably of late. What do you see as the reason for this?

[Marakutsa] The nub of the conflict lies in the current policy of the Moldovan leadership. I'm talking about its decision not to sign the Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States and its desire for forced Romanianization, in the course of which a considerable number of Dnestr region working people are being discriminated against because of their political views, ethnic origins, and language.

We have long been trying to solve these and other problems—including the formation of a federation within the framework of Moldova—but we have constantly met with a lack of understanding on the part of the Moldovan leadership.

All this forced the Dnestr region people to adopt the 25 August 1991 declaration on the independence of the Dnestr Republic.

[Semenyaka] How lawful is the Dnestr Republic's proclamation?

[Marakutsa] Our republic has been set up as a result of the free expression of its people's will in the course of a referendum in the region's cities and meetings in rural

areas. On 2 September 1990, a congress of people's deputies at all levels of the Dnestr region proclaimed the creation of the republic within a renewed federation. This desire on the part of the Dnestr region's multinational population was reaffirmed in the 25 November 1990 elections to the newly formed republic's Supreme Soviet.

A number of USSR Academy of Sciences scientific institutions have concluded that the historical, cultural, and economic unity of our people, and the special features of the region's development, are grounds for the creation of state. Experience confirms the expediency of statehood for the Dnestr region.

From the legal standpoint it is important to stress that the Soviet constitution recognizes a nation's right to self-determination—a right which we have made a political reality on the basis of the free will of the Dnestr region's residents.

Another reason for the formation of the republic is that the historic area of Bessarabia, as a former Russian province, obtained its statehood during the formation of the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] in 1940 on the basis of unification with the Dnestr autonomous region.

[Semenyaka] Moldovan law enforcement organs have arrested a number of Dnestr region people's deputies. What can you say about that?

[Marakutsa] It seems as though the dark days of totalitarianism have again returned to Moldova. You come to that conclusion when you hear about deputies' apartments being broken into at night and members of their families threatened—sometimes with weapons.

Physical violence and the violation of people's deputy status cannot be called a political argument. The mugging of I. Smirnov, chairman of the Dnestr Republic, in Kiev, and of a number of people's deputies shows the helplessness of the Moldovan leaders, who are not guided by common sense and the law but resort to violence instead.

[Semenyaka] It is well known that violence begets violence. The rail blockade by Dnestr region inhabitants is an example of that.

[Marakutsa] The crude actions by politickers against the legally elected leaders of the Dnestr region prompted the women to take this desperate step.

In order to distract the public from the reasons for this conflict, the Moldovan leaders have organized an out-and-out blockade along the entire length of the Dnestr region's border, stopping movements of transport carrying national economic freight. Wishing to make their militia actions look like civil resistance, they coerced residents from nearby villages into forming pickets. This was confirmed by a Central TV correspondent's report.

[Semenyaka] Grigoriy Stepanovich, can you see a political solution to this situation?

[Marakutsa] I want to state unambiguously that we will be strictly guided by the will of our voters and by existing legislation.

Events Viewed Firsthand

PM2409091991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by special correspondents K. Bayalinov and I. Chernyak: "Conflict in Moldova—Trains Seek Other Routes. But the People?"]

[Text] Tiraspol-Kishinev—Tension persists in the Dnestr Region. One side continues to picket the railroad lines in Bendery and Tiraspol, and the other is erecting barricades on the roads leading from Kishinev to the "mutinous" Left Bank.

...We are on the 48-km-long Kishinev-Tiraspol highway. The road is sectioned off by trucks. The asphalt is covered in a "self-activating" strip of spikes made from nails. Men—around 30 individuals—control the through traffic. No weapons are visible.

The 2 kilometer stretch leading into Bendery reveals more serious structures: tow trucks and trailers, tractors. Placards demand: "Unblock the Railroad." Around 100 Moldovan men are turning back milk trucks and ordering passengers out of intercity buses right into the rain. "You can walk, you won't dissolve."

Weighed down with bags, suitcases, and children, the people wander off gloomily in the direction of Bendery.

"We have peasants from neighboring villages manning the barricades. Myself, I work on the 'Vieru' Kolkhoz [collective farm], which is quite close," V. Melnik, one of the picketers, recounts. "We have sectioned off the road in response to the rail blockade. Look: tomatoes, peppers, and onions are rotting in the fields—what a waste of hard work! OK, so we've been left without money—but we have treaties with Russia and the Ukraine: Through exchange and barter deals we could get consumer goods, solar oil, gasoline. Machinery is standing idle, and the sowing has been ruined—what's going to happen next year? There's no coal coming in: How will we get through the winter? Our patience has run out. We decided that if they blockade us, then we too can declare a blockade. If they cut off our supplies of gas, we will sever their water supplies."

Not long ago in Tbilisi we saw something even more farfetched: People were on hunger strike in protest against other people's hunger strikes. Nobody here seems to have thought this far as yet.

The Moldovan peasants' retaliatory measures prompted an unequivocal response from Kishinev. Purely by chance, we witnessed the Moldovan deputy minister of internal affairs vociferating down the receiver: "I don't

give a damn if they are Moldovan or not, the road must be cleared. Use force!" But the deputies decided not to exacerbate the situation for now...

K. Tampiza, Moldovan minister of economics, believes: "Yes, the actions of the Moldovan picketers are illegal, but they are retaliatory measures. See for yourselves. Every day, some 50 railcars pass through Tiraspol, and now this link is closed. We have increased the throughput capacity of alternate lines as far as possible. Now they can carry 20 railcars instead of 12 from the north, and six from the south. This is still too few. Kishinev imports mainly produce, medicines, and essential commodities. Today, the republic could dispatch 400,000 tonnes of vegetables—but they won't get through. As a result, you will have to purchase produce for dollars once again..."

Moldovans manning the barricades assured us in all seriousness that the "tracks" are blocked by idlers who spend all day dancing, drinking, and making love. We didn't see any love-mad drunkards. On the tracks sat some 150 elderly women. They sang "Dnestr Evenings," knitted, and read newspapers. All around were placards: "No to Moldavian Porridge made by Romanian Hands!—We Will Not Surrender the Dnestr Region!"... In the improvised headquarters on the site there is a telephone and a loudspeaker. There is a military field kitchen, and military vehicles to transport the tents. People address one another as "comrade" or "dear lady." Tall men in green camouflage uniforms from the workers' detachment cooperating with the militia protect the women from provocations. Here, they invited us to sit at the table:

"It is the Russian custom to eat first and then ask questions."

We had heard the surname of the leader of the Dnestr women—Andreieva—already in Kishinev. No, Galina Stepanovna, director of the Tiraspol City Social Security Department, is not related to Nina Aleksandrovna, but there is a likeness. Here her orders are carried out without question.

She tells me: "Behind my back, tens of thousands of pensioners in the Dnestr Region have been refused pension payments by Kishinev. They've cut off our electricity, the Moldovan OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachment] have blockaded Bendery, and police vehicles with blaring sirens have been patrolling the streets. But despite the psychological attacks and the fact that several of us have had criminal proceedings brought against us, we will not move from here. We don't need recognition. The Dnestr Region Republic has already been recognized: The whole world is talking about us... All we demand is that the arrested deputies be freed. If we concede, it will be worse tomorrow. The police don't keep a list of 600 deputies from the Dnestr Region for nothing..."

S. Krasavchenko, representing B. Yeltsin, arrived here 17 September with a group of Russian people's deputies.

The women evaluated his position as pro-Moldovan and not in the interests of the republic's Russian-speaking population. After returning to Kishinev, Krasavchenko issued a statement accusing the women of the Dnestr Region of infringing the rights of Russian peoples, so they set about forming a women's battalion. One of the strikers accompanying us joked mournfully: "I don't cut my nails—now they are a weapon."

What is this if not madness?

...Barricades have been erected not only between Kishinev and Tiraspol. The most tragic thing is that often they divide families, and one of the workers from Government House—a Moldovan, married to a Russian—told me that his family is on the brink of falling apart. For days on end the wife slams Moldovans as nationalists, while he is doing his best to make her think otherwise.

This is how they are living. For now.

"This whole thing stinks, guys," he concluded.

We couldn't dispute that. [Correspondents' report ends]

[TASS postscript: "And Meanwhile"]

In line with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur's decree, as from today all criminal proceedings undertaken under Article 179/2 of the Moldovan Republic Criminal Code for the premeditated blockade of railroads and other transport links have been discontinued.

The continued blockade of rail links in a number of cities, the document notes, is inflicting massive harm on the Moldovan economy and infringing the interests of other republics. Direct losses incurred by the sectors of the republic national economy as a result of the blockade of rail transport constituted around 35 million rubles as of 18 September.

In the light of this decree, inhabitants of villages adjacent to the city of Bendery halted their blockade of the highway yesterday evening. Initial reaction to the decree in the Dnestr Region is negative. The women's picket of the railroads in Bendery and Rybnitsa continues.

RSFSR Delegation Conclusions

PM2409100591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Eduard Kondratov under "Direct Line" rubric: "Situation in Dnestr Region as Seen by Russian Legislators"]

[Text] Kishinev—A delegation of Russian legislators headed by S. Krasavchenko, member of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium, has spent some days in Moldova. It came at the Moldovan leaders' request, to see how the rights of the Russian-speaking population are being observed in Moldova.

At the request of journalists, the commission members shared the conclusions they had drawn after visiting Kishinev and the Dnestr region.

Urgent matters first. The Russian deputies formed the opinion that the railroad blockade, in which hundreds of women from Tiraspol, Bendery, and Rybnitsa, are participating, did not occur spontaneously, but was an organized act that right-wing political forces in the Dnestr region are in dire need of at the moment. Having been heartened during the putsch, they are currently seeking rehabilitation and trying somehow to remain afloat. They calculated that involving women in an inhuman, barbarous act—stopping trains carrying goods and food badly needed by people not only in Moldova but in the Ukraine and Russia too—would result in a further intensification of confrontation between the "banks," possibly leading to armed clashes. There is intense agitation in troop units stationed in the Dnestr region for the transfer of the forces to the jurisdiction of the nonexistent Dnestr Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, and officers are being misinformed and threatened with the imminent prospect of expulsion from a breakaway Moldova and being left without a roof over their heads.

According to the Russian deputies, the arrest of the Dnestr region political leaders, whose release the women are demanding, was just a pretext and certainly not the reason for the start of the blockade and the abrupt escalation of tension. According to Krasavchenko, the only difference between the Dnestr region procommunist leaders' political programs and the program subsequently proclaimed by the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] was that they were even more right-wing.

Can arrests that prompted such a wave of protests be considered lawful? According to S. Shustov, secretary of the Russian parliamentary commission on human rights, who met with the detainees and studied the lawyers' documents, at the moment they are not officially charged with supporting the putsch. Although the Moldovan Prosecutor's Office took criminal action against them a year ago, on a charge of complicity in unconstitutional activities, of urging noncompliance with republic laws, and of conducting a policy leading to the violation of Moldova's territorial integrity. So the arrested deputies committed the crimes they are accused of long before the putsch. The failure of the attempted coup d'état created a favorable political opportunity for extraordinary prompt action to detain deputies from the Dnestr region. The presidium of the Moldovan parliament deprived them of their deputy's immunity.

What can and must be done today in order to relieve the tension in Moldova, avert its dangerous consequences, and reassure the population of cities in the Dnestr region? First of all, the Russian legislators believe, it is necessary to establish normal conditions for dialogue with the population and local deputies, which might help bring about a solution of the major problems of concern

to the population. For example, the most efficient, comprehensive use of the Dnestr region's economic potential may even be the creation of a free economic zone there. At the same time, it is necessary to iron out the very acute contradictions connected with the implementation of language laws adopted by Moldova. The Moldovan leaders are now prepared to liberalize them considerably, to extend the time the population of these areas has been given to learn the state language. According to the Russian deputies, one might also mention the cultural autonomy of the Russian-Ukrainian population, and, obviously, they will be helped there by both Russia and the Ukraine. But there can be no question of the state division of Moldova, that is, of Russia's recognition of the self-proclaimed Dnestr Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Strict observance of the laws protecting human rights is the guarantee of the settlement of all interethnic conflicts in Moldova, the Russian legislators believe.

In conversations with the Russian-speaking population, the Russian legislative deputies announced that they pinned very great hopes on the speedy ratification of the

interstate treaty between Russia and Moldova, under the terms of which there will be mutual obligations to protect compatriots' rights.

Gagauz Blockade Lifted; Turkish Aid Promised

LD2309185391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] The blockade of the section of the Moldovan railway which crosses the rayons inhabited by the Gagauz has been lifted as of today. The situation here remains tense, however.

Participants in a meeting held in Komrat demanded the release of two Gagauz deputies to the Supreme Soviet, who are currently being held in one of Kishinev's jails. A resolution was adopted calling upon the population to boycott the elections for Moldovan president which are scheduled to take place in December, and to institute the office of and hold elections for president of the Gagauz Republic.

A delegation from Turkey was here recently, which included staff from the foreign and culture ministries of that country. The Gagauz are linked to the Turks by common ethnic roots, and their distant relatives have promised moral support and economic aid.

Georgia**Reportage Continues on Political, Military Events****Sigua Urges Gamsakhurdia To Step Down***LD2309135191 Moscow TASS in English
1308 GMT 23 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi September 23 TASS—The Georgian democratic opposition's main demand is that President Zviad Gamsakhurdia step down, former republic Prime Minister Tenghiz Sigua told journalists.

The opposition leader set out the democratic opposition's proposals for stabilizing the situation in Tbilisi. They include the liberalization of the mass media, the immediate release of all political prisoners, the resumption of the parliament's session and its broadcasting live and the return home of the president's militant supporters who arrived in the capital from remote parts of the republic.

For our part, Sigua said, we promise that the protest action in front of the Georgian radio and television centre will be terminated and its participants go home.

The ex-premier confirmed that the opposition had established contacts with President Gamsakhurdia, but their evolution will depend on compliance with the listed demands, Sigua said.

Gamsakhurdia Addresses Rally*LD2309192491 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Sep 91*

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The RIA agency has reported from Tbilisi: Representatives of the collectives of Tbilisi University and the Institute of Clinical and Experimental Surgery have staged a march and demonstration in support of President Gamsakhurdia. It was attended by many thousands. A rally was held. In addressing the rally, Zviad Gamsakhurdia said that Georgia's destiny as an independent state is now being decided. In the words of the president, it has turned out that supporters of the imperial forces are to be found in the republic. They are proceeding along a path of betraying the interests of the people and supporting the activities of the putschists, aimed at overthrowing the legitimate government, Gamsakhurdia stated.

TV Center Reported in Danger*OW2309191891 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1615 GMT 23 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Monday is expected "to decide who will take the upper hand—the lawful government or the putschists."

Addressing the people over the republic's radio on September 23, Mr. Gamsakhurdia again urged them to side with the government.

The presidential press service says on Monday afternoon the Georgian leader spoke at a mass rally organized by his followers, among them college and university lecturers and students from Tbilisi. Mr. Gamsakhurdia expressed regret that there were "imperial collaborators" in Georgia, who had been doing everything to prevent the republic from "shaking off its chains." He described the opposition leaders as "people unwilling to lose the privileges which they earned by their committed service to the Communist regime."

IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent reports that the opposition-controlled TV center in Tbilisi may any moment become the target of a storming attack. Three armored personnel carriers have been manouvering outside it. Some of Gamsakhurdia's followers, as well as opponents, have been seen carrying arms.

Criminal elements have been quick to take advantage of the unstable situation. On Sunday night, unidentified persons stole nearly 30 Orders of Lenin from the museum of the Transcaucasian military district. One such order is said to cost about \$300 in Turkey.

Conflict Taking on 'Social Character'*LD2309190191 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] To all appearances, Gamsakhurdia is refusing talks with the opposition at the moment. There are conflicting reports about this, however. We do know that the President has summoned the peasants from neighboring villages to his aid and is arming them. Today he has been trying to persuade his supporters to disperse intellectuals who are on strike. In this way, the conflict is taking on a social character. The differences between Tbilisi residents and the provincial population, among whom support for Gamsakhurdia is stronger, may not be the least important factor. A very peculiar slogan has appeared: "Residents of Tbilisi, get out of town".

Observers today incline to the opinion that civil war in the republic is quite possible. For the moment, the president is showing no willingness to compromise. However, the alignment of the armed forces is fairly shaky and this could alter the stance taken by Gamsakhurdia of whom Yelena Bonner, who has known him a long while, has said, "He's no hero." That, incidentally, is also a bad thing. The only light note in this critical

situation is the unusual neutral and calm stance adopted by the Soviet Army which does not intend to intervene in Georgia's internal affairs.

Security Council Established

LD2309204191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] A Georgian National Security Council was formed today in keeping with a decree of the Republic's President Gamsakhurdia. The chairman of this council is the president himself.

The leaders of a number of ministries and departments, in particular of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Procuracy, and also deputies of the Supreme Soviet who are closest to Gamsakhurdia have been appointed as members.

In view of the opposition, the establishment of this body is an even greater usurpation of power by Gamsakhurdia behind a screen of councils. The role of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic has thus been reduced to a minimum.

Gamsakhurdia Resignation Demanded

LD2409004291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2004 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Video report by correspondent A. Goryachev, including recorded interviews with unidentified participants in a news conference held by representatives of the Georgian centrist opposition in Moscow on 23 Sep; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Representatives of the centrist opposition of the Georgia Supreme Soviet spoke at a news conference in Moscow today. Speaking about the situation in Tbilisi, Yevlyan Khalandrava, cochairman of the Union of Free Democrats, reported that on the night of 22 September three people died and approximately 60 were injured in clashes outside the Georgian Supreme Soviet. All the casualties were representatives of the opposition.

According to information given to journalists, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of Georgia, who has divided his opponents into a street opposition and Supreme Soviet opposition, has called upon the latter to cooperate, proposing joint action against the street opposition—that is, against the demonstrators. However, as was stated at the news conference, the president is psychologically incapable of getting contacts going with the opposition, either on the streets or indeed in the parliament.

Representatives of the parliamentary minority have now accused the president of usurping executive, legislative, and judicial powers. They have put forward a demand for the resignation of Gamsakhurdia, and the convocation of an extraordinary session of parliament within one to two days. [Goryachev now addresses participant in news conference]

Can you tell us specifically what actual forces the opposition represents? How many people will support them, at least approximately?

[First unidentified participant] At any event, 40, 50, or 60,000 people are present at the opposition rallies in the square of the Republic, and even on your program and the "Vesti" program it can be seen that there are a great many people there. In Tbilisi there is now a turning point in awareness, especially after these events, the events of the day before yesterday. The opposition is fairly strong at the present time.

[Goryachev] What is your forecast regarding the events of the next few days or week—or at least for a few days?

[Second unidentified participant] I think that none of us would risk making a forecast for the coming week, because it is indeed very difficult to make such a forecast. If there is at least one goodwill gesture on the part of the present leadership, I am absolutely convinced that all the developments that are taking place in Georgia can be moved into a normal, civilized channel. However, unfortunately, there is no way that we can forecast the activities of our leadership. [video shows scenes at news conference, two interviewees]

Representatives Begin Talks

LD2309214491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2004 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Video report by presenter Mikhail Osokin]

[Text] In Tbilisi, the National Guard units that have taken the side of opponents of President Gamsakhurdia have stated that they have begun to occupy strategic points in the city. Trucks carrying guards have arrived at the building of the radio and television complex, which is controlled by opposition forces. People also assembled at the building today, carrying sabers, hunting rifles, and even ancestral daggers. Several armored personnel carriers were seen on the side of the opposition.

In their turn, Gamsakhurdia supporters held a mass demonstration on Rustaveli Avenue.

And the latest news today. At 1800 hours local time, on neutral territory at the residence of the catholicos, Ilya II, patriarch of All Georgia, talks started between representatives of the opposition and deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet who support President Gamsakhurdia. However, we have not yet received details of this.

General on Army Interference

LD2309223691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2005 GMT 23 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to the Georgian news agency IPRINDA, General Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, has stated that the Soviet

Army will not interfere in events in Georgia, and USSR Defense Minister Shaposhnikov has confirmed this, the agency asserts. We have just had a telephone call from Tbilisi, saying that according to unconfirmed reports, in the coming hours Gamsakhurdia's supporters may start an assault on the Georgian television building. We have also learned from this conversation that the Georgian democratic forces have appealed to the world community to support their fight against tyranny and dictatorship.

Meanwhile, Gamsakhurdia's supporters are maneuvering. If, until now, they have adhered to the policy of tough confrontation with regard to Abkhazia and South Ossetia, at present they have set out with an appeal—and I quote—to the fraternal peoples of Abkhazia and Ossetia to defend the lawfully elected Government of Georgia.

Meanwhile, the U.S. State Department has warned U.S. citizens to refrain from trips to Georgia and recommended that those who are already there leave the republic as soon as possible. Such warnings are issued by the U.S. foreign policy department only in the most extreme cases.

Spokesman Reviews Situation

LD2409005491 Moscow TASS in English
2358 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi September 23 TASS—Reports about casualties during clashes in Rustaveli Avenue on Sunday morning are untrue, a spokesman for the Georgian president's press service told TASS.

According to the spokesman, none of the participants was killed.

x x x

A tragic incident occurred today during a rally of opposition forces near the Georgian television and radio department building. A heavy dump-truck from a barricade protecting the rally, unexpectedly began moving down the street. One person was injured and brought to the hospital.

Some observers believe that it was a provocation organized by unidentified persons and it could have led to numerous casualties.

x x x

Defenders of the Georgian television and radio building, seized by opposition, today welcomed additional units of the National Guard.

During the August coup in Moscow, the National Guard refused to support President Zviad Gamsakhurdia of Georgia, accusing him of supporting the "Emergency Committee".

Trucks carrying personnel and artillery and accompanied by APCs arrived at the radio and television building from the settlement of Shavnabada near Tbilisi.

Supporters of the republican president believe that the arrival of the units is a demonstration of muscles by the opposition.

Well informed sources say the actions by the National Guard have no propaganda aims. "We have been seizing strategic points in the capital," a National Guard officer told TASS.

x x x

President Zviad Gamsakhurdia today issued a decree forming the Georgian National Security Council. The president also heads the Council.

The Council includes heads of a number of ministries and departments, including the Interior Ministry and the Prosecutor's Office, and parliament members close to Gamsakhurdia.

Opposition forces believe that the Council is still greater usurpation of power by Gamsakhurdia. The move reduces to a minimum the role of the republican parliament, they said.

Sigua Warns of Possible Attack

LD2409010891 Moscow TASS in English
0015 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Tbilisi September 24 TASS—The threat of the Georgian authorities using armed force against opposition in the near future is rather real, former republican Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua has said.

Quoting sources close to the republican president, Sigua told TASS that Zviad Gamsakhurdia is planning to attack the National Guard, which sided with opposition.

According to some reports, special task force police units (OMON), police and armed units from western Georgia, the president's homeland, might attack the National Guard.

Sigua noted that the attackers will face the National Guard, which is better organized and well armed. Participants in the Afghan war make up the core of the guard, he said.

Sigua said artillery has already occupied strategic heights protecting approaches to the state television and radio building, also current opposition headquarters.

At the same time, Sigua again said democratic forces adhered to a peaceful solution for the crisis. "The National Guard will never open fire first, unless the president issues an order to attack the television and radio building," Sigua said. [passage omitted]

First Round of Talks Ends

LD2409010391 Moscow TASS in English
0024 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi September 24 TASS—The first round of negotiations between representatives of parliamentary factions of the Georgian Supreme Soviet ended almost at midnight with practically no results.

The representatives have diametrically contrary opinions of the ways to settle the crisis in the Transcaucasian republic of Georgia.

Opponents of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia proposed to declare a moratorium on rallies and political statements, withdraw from Tbilisi armed formations of the warring sides, resume live broadcasts of parliamentary debates and free political prisoners.

The opposition is ready to withdraw the National Guard to its bases outside Tbilisi in case of obtaining official guarantees.

Deputy of the Georgian Supreme Soviet Gela Chorgolashvili, 33, told TASS that these constructive proposals were taken into account by Gamsakhurdia supporters. The latter promised to submit them for consideration to the republican leadership.

"Such stand demonstrated that the opposing side is not ready for constructive negotiations and does not have corresponding powers to conduct them," said Chorgolashvili.

Nevertheless, an agreement has been reached to continue negotiations. The second round of talks will be held today on "a neutral territory"—the residence of head of the Orthodox Church of Georgia Catholicos-Patriarch Iliya II.

According to well-informed sources, President Gamsakhurdia will, probably, decide to use force against the opposition.

In this connection, commander of the National Guard Tengiz Kitovani confirmed the determination of his staff to take the part of the opposition.

Additional units of the National Guard have come to Tbilisi over the recent hours. They took strategically important positions and placed artillery guns around the building of the Georgian state television and radio department, where the opposition headquarters are located.

Shooting Incident Reported

LD2409134891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1200 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] An incident in which shots were fired from automatic weapons took place last night in Tbilisi. At

0255 local time four unknown persons carrying pistols, submachine guns, and fragmentation grenades put up armed resistance against national guardsmen. Tengiz Kitovani, the commander of Georgia's National Guard who has been dismissed by the republic's president, told TASS correspondents: My people did not open fire. The unknown persons also had bullet-proof vests and a car without number plates. Upon checking, it turned out that they had arrested officers belonging to the republic militia. In the opinion of Kitovani, these people were carrying out a special mission, presumably the organization of a provocation, at the headquarters of the opposition forces. Kitovani said: We have everything, like any normal army—a military procuracy, an intelligence and a counterintelligence service. These services will carry out an investigation into the incident after which those detained will be released.

Armenia

Supreme Soviet Unanimously Proclaims Independence

OW2309185991 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1615 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of Armenia has unanimously proclaimed the republic an independent state outside the Soviet Union.

Speakers at the parliamentary session on Monday stressed the point that the declaration of independence stemmed directly from last Saturday's republic-wide referendum, during which 94.37 percent of the voters had spoken in favor of an independent and democratic Armenia unaffiliated to the USSR.

The Catholicos of All Armenians, Vazgen II, blessed the declaration of Armenian independence.

Deputies Discuss Results

NC2309201291 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network
in Armenian 1730 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Report by Mavr Danielyan from the Armenian Supreme Soviet session on 23 September in Yerevan—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Danielyan] The Supreme Soviet opened its deliberations today in a festive and ceremonial atmosphere. [passage omitted] All the deputies were present, a rare occurrence. Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Supreme Soviet chairman; Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and other deputies involved in the Armenian delegation to the Zheleznovodsk talks were unable to attend. The gallery seats were full also, with observers, reporters, and [word indistinct] who had come here from various republics and foreign countries. The Catholicos of All Armenians Vazgen I was present, accompanied by his entourage. [passage omitted]

Gagik Arutyunyan, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, opened the session.

[Arutyunyan] Esteemed deputies, honorable guests, dear compatriots: First, please allow me to congratulate everyone for the glorious manifestation of our people's unanimous will in the referendum results. We could describe today's Supreme Soviet session as the session dedicated to the proclamation of the independence of the Armenian Republic. [applause] Developments have made it impossible for the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, our prime minister, and other participants in the well-known negotiations to attend today's deliberations. They are taking part in the ongoing negotiations. [passage omitted]

Allow me to pass the podium to Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and chairman of the central electoral commission on the Armenian republic referendum, to announce the official results of the referendum:

[Ararktsyan] Esteemed deputies and guests, dear compatriots, the central electoral commission on the referendum continued its work last night and today. All complaints were taken into consideration and all the verifications were made, and today I have the honor to present to you the official report from the Central Electoral Commission on the referendum.

The number of the citizens eligible to vote in the Armenian Republic referendum was 2,163,967 of whom 2,056,758 cast a ballot. This means that 95.5 percent of the eligible voters voted. [applause] Some 2,042,647 voted yes; that is, 94.39 percent of eligible voters. [applause] Some 10,002 citizens voted no; that is, 0.46 percent of eligible voters. Some 4,129 invalid votes were cast, a percentage of 0.19. In order to ensure public scrutiny of the referendum, the Armenian Supreme Soviet and public and political organizations invited observers. Some 117 observers from 25 countries monitored the vote and no violations were reported. Thank you. [applause]

[Arutyunyan] It seems to me that based on those results we could surely adopt the Supreme Soviet grand decision. Allow me to pass the podium to People's Deputy Aram Manukyan to read the draft of the decision.

[Manukyan] Remaining loyal to the declaration on the independence of Armenia; based on human rights and the international norms on self-determination; having the objective of creating a democratic and law-based society; taking the results of the 21 September 1991 referendum on the secession from the structure of the USSR as the basis: the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet proclaims the Armenian Republic an independent state. [applause]

[Arutyunyan] The accompanying applause can be accepted as a resounding (?call) for the unanimous adoption of our decision. I request the Supreme Soviet deputies to take a roll call vote on the decision. Some 214

Supreme Soviet deputies are present. Please vote on the decision to adopt the proclamation of Armenian independence. Those in favor. [thunderous applause followed by the national anthem drowns out vote count] [passage omitted]

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Further on Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Peace Talks

Officials Begin Negotiations

OW2309123091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1020 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Talks on settling the Nagorny Karabakh conflict began in Zheleznovodsk, Stavropol region, on Monday. They involve the leaders of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Armenia: Boris Yeltsin, Nursultan Nazarbayev, Ayaz Muttalibov, and Levon Ter-Petrosyan, as well as a delegation from Nagorno-Karabakh.

Addressing newsmen in Yerevan on Sunday following their meeting with L. Ter-Petrosian, B. Yeltsin and N. Nazarbayev said that "very tangible hopes for gaining success had emerged".

The Presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan pointed out that the stands of Azerbaijan and Armenia on a number of problems proved to be similar.

For his part L. Ter-Petrosyan said that the issue of restoring constitutional order and lawful authority in Nagorno-Karabakh should not be negotiated. "It should be resolved before the beginning of talks", he pointed out.

Speaking on republican TV on Sunday, the chairman of Armenia's parliament L. Ter-Petrosian said he hoped that the talks in Zheleznovodsk "will make it possible to break the deadlock in the efforts to settle the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan".

His approach to the ways to resolve confrontation in the region is similar in many respects to that of B. Yeltsin and N. Nazarbayev, said the head of Armenia's parliament. "This gives rise to the hope that the talks will be a success", said Ter-Petrosyan. He said he hoped that the document to be adopted as a result of the talks will become the first step on the road toward resolving the problem of Nagorny Karabakh.

Azerbaijan's President Ayaz Muttalibov also said he hoped that "the talks will create favorable conditions for further contacts on presidential level" with a view to settling the ethnic conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

In an interview for republican TV given in Stepanakert on Sunday A. Mutalibov said B. Yeltsin and N. Nazarbayev conceded that the situation in the region "is extremely serious".

Accord Problems Viewed

LD2309213191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast; video report by correspondent P. Guskov]

[Text] Talks to settle the conflict in Karabakh were held in Zheleznovodsk today; Yeltsin and Nazarbayev, the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan took on an intermediary role in them. Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan; Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet; Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] leaders; and representatives of the Azerbaijani and Armenian communities of this autonomous oblast took part in them.

[Guskov] The talks started at 1000 in the morning, and by all accounts they proceeded with some difficulty.

Having come out for a walk, President Yeltsin told journalists that only two out of twelve points have been agreed upon. Now it is 1645. It is true that in a few hours of talks it is very difficult to solve all the problems that have come to a head.

One can judge the complexity of the talks by many signs. It does not matter that journalists were allowed into the meeting hall only for a few minutes to do the filming or that the talks are being held behind tightly closed doors. The delicacy of the questions discussed requires such precautions. But a press conference planned for midday had still not started by late evening.

The day began with good news: Voshchanov, the press secretary of the Russian President, reported that in the morning a cameraman from Baku who had been taken hostage was released. His release was carried out without any prior conditions. This news was hopeful.

The fact that the talks, however difficult they might be, have not been suspended gives rise for hope, though their participants have a lot of important things to attend to.

What are the difficulties on the way to accord? Journalists learned from unofficial sources that the main ones are the question of the structure of power in Nagorno-Karabakh and of the fate of the armed groups that operate there. Nevertheless, one would hope that the persistence, purposefulness, and goodwill of the participants in the talks will bring the result for which we have been waiting for for three and a half years. Let us wait a little bit longer.

[Video shows correspondent talking to the camera; Yeltsin and his entourage taking a walk; participants in

the talks sitting around table; and Yeltsin, Ter-Petrosyan, Nazarbayev, and other participants outside the meeting hall]

Agreement Points Noted

OW2309200591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1845 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent reports that the final document to be signed at the Karabakh talks in Zheleznovodsk by the Azerbaijani, Armenian and Karabakhi officials with the mediation of the RSFSR and Kazakh presidents, will include three sets of issues: a) restoring by January 1 of Nagorno-Karabakh's legal status in its pre-1988 form, b) gradually restoring the lawful government bodies in the region, and c) ceasing fire and beginning a process of disarmament.

According to Nagorno-Karabakh's negotiator Samson Voskanyan, deputy head of the Shaumyanovsk District Soviet, the document is almost complete, and only a few minor provisions need further coordination. Members of the Azerbaijani delegation, Mr. Voskanyan said, had displayed considerable differences in their approach to the subject matter of the talks. President Mutalibov, for one, maintains that the parties "are not arguing but coordinating the future agreement."

Armenia's leader Ter-Petrosyan told journalists he did not think the talks would be over on Monday. Asked whether they could resume on Tuesday, he said he did not know.

Mutalibov Comments on Final Document

LD2309202991 Moscow Radio Rossi Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Report by Vyacheslav Osipov from Zheleznovodsk]

[Text] After seven hours of long talks [between the leaderships of Armenia and Azerbaijan with the mediation of Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev], I finally managed to get a short interview from Azerbaijan's leader Ayaz Mutalibov. I asked him how many of the points of the final document they had managed to discuss. Azerbaijan's president replied that the participants in the meeting had discussed more than half.

Then I asked him which of the points led to the greatest disputes. Azerbaijan's leader replied that the first block of issues, which includes issues of disarming unlawful armed formations on both sides and a cease-fire, had been agreed upon but had caused great disputes.

And one more piece of information which I managed to get in the lobby this time: A special protocol between Azerbaijan and Armenia is being prepared on the issue of exchanging hostages or prisoners of war, which both sides have.

Joint Communiqué Signed

LD2409100291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0900 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Last night, following difficult discussions relating to the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] the leaders of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, the Republic of Azerbaijan, and the Republic of Armenia signed a joint communiqué. The most important of its points is that the state authorities of Azerbaijan and Armenia agree that empowered delegations will immediately sit down to bilateral talks on a permanent basis until the Karabakh conflict is completely settled. Their actions will be guided by the principles of noninterference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, unswerving observance of the rights of all citizens regardless of their nationality and in accordance with the norms of international law.

Troop Withdrawal Possible

LD2409110791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1000 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] A highly-placed representative of the USSR Ministry of Defense told an INTERFAX correspondent in Moscow that Marshal Shaposhnikov has warned the leadership of Armenia and Azerbaijan during talks in Zheleznovodsk that if real steps are not made to end the military confrontation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast by the end of the year, military units stationed there will be withdrawn as of 1 January 1992. According to the representative, this warning cannot fail to intensify the talks.

Leader Views Yeltsin's Visit

OW2309142491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1320 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Isa Gambarov, chairman of the Executive Committee of Azerbaijan's Popular Front, believes that the visit of Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev to the Caucasus was poorly prepared. "The main goal of their trip remains vague in the eyes of the opposition in Azerbaijan, he told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent. Besides, Isa Gambarov believes that the participation of a delegation from Nagorno-Karabakh in the talks held in Zheleznovodsk by the leaders of Russia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Armenia will lead to a further fall in the prestige of the present Azeri leadership.

Azerbaijani Delegation Quoted

LD2309194391 Hamburg DPA in German 1911 GMT
23 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Azerbaijan and Armenia intend to restore order in Nagorno-Karabakh by the end of this year, according to the RIA Russian news agency. According to a report from the agency on 23 September, the government and administrative structure of the region, subject of dispute between the two republics, will be restored by 1 January 1992. By this date, there will be a legal situation prevailing in the region as existed at the start of the conflict in 1988. In addition, there are plans to disband all armed units by that time. RIA was quoting the Azerbaijani delegation at the peace talks in the Russian resort of Zheleznovodsk, in the foothills of the Caucasus. [passage omitted]

Kyrgyzstan

Conditions Set for Signing Union Treaty

OW2109180691 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1700 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At Saturday's [21 September] session of the Kyrgyz Supreme Soviet President Askar Akayev made a report containing his conception of an economic commonwealth of Asian and European states. He expects it to be "a basis for building various military, political, humanitarian, and other structures".

Akayev spoke against Yavlinskiy's programme as "faulty in its very conception". In his opinion Yavlinskiy's project can't be improved, but should be rejected, since it is dominated "with centralized management by command which would restore the old doomed system."

A. Akayev set forth his own conception which he had presented at the latest meeting of the State Council. In his opinion, the draft economic treaty should be linked to laws on state power bodies to run the Soviet Union in the transitional period, also with a military union and humanitarian cooperation.

A. Akayev advocated having three grades of membership in the future union: full-fledged membership, associated, and observer status.

The Kyrgyz President said that switching over to national currencies couldn't be put off. But he was for doing it simultaneously.

He denied there was any haste in signing the Union Treaty as a political document. He suggested an objective need to sign three documents: first, a treaty on an economic commonwealth of sovereign states; second, - on a defence union; and third, - on humanitarian cooperation.

Akayev was against "signing a political Union treaty in disguise of an economic agreement". He warned he would refuse to sign the Union Treaty unless his proposals were taken into consideration in the State Council.

Draftees To Be Recalled From Soviet Forces

OW2109185091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1700 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of Kyrgyzstan has authorized President Akayev to issue a decree recalling Kyrgyz lads from engineer troops which are being used as cheap labour force in the Soviet economy. Their number is expected to be over 14 thousand men. The Supreme Soviet is to prepare legislation for Kyrgyz draftees to do their army service in their republic.

Tajikistan

State of Emergency Declared in Entire Republic

LD2309103491 Moscow TASS in English
1027 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe September 23 TASS—A state of emergency will be introduced on all territory of the Republic of Tajikistan from Monday, September 23 until January 1, 1992.

This decision was passed by the Tajik parliament which convened for a special session today.

The move came in the wake of the events of September 21-22, touched off by the decree of the President Kadreddin Aslonov suspending the activity of the republic's Communist Party and ordering the nationalization of its property.

On those days, the monument to Vladimir Lenin in the central square of Dushanbe was vandalized and then toppled in accordance with the one-man decision of Mayor Maksud Ikramov. Ikramov surrendered to pressure from participants in a mass rally organised by the popular movement Rastokhez, the Democratic Party of Tajikistan and the unregistered Islamic Revival Party.

Other monuments to Lenin were vandalized in some cities and district centres across the republic.

Deputies demanded Kadreddin Aslonov step down, the decree, which they regard as unconstitutional, be repealed, Dushanbe mayor prosecuted and the monuments reinstated.

In the afternoon, it was reported that Kadreddin Aslonov had announced resignation, which was accepted by a majority in the parliament. The republic's law enforcement agencies were instructed to take all monuments to Lenin on Tajik territory under guard.

The republic's Procurator-General Nurullo Hubaidulayev made a statement in the parliament, saying he would institute criminal proceedings, with the consent of the parliament, on charges of adoption of an unconstitutional decree and the unlawful dismantling of the monument.

The session continues work while outside the parliament building a 10,000-strong rally of opposition forces continues.

The rally was organised by a group of members of the Soviet parliament and the parliament of the Republic of Tajikistan.

Rally Protests State of Emergency

LD2409082991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0653 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 24 Sep (TASS)—The participants in a mass meeting at the Tajik parliament building are demanding the lifting of the state of emergency, the dissolution of the republic's parliament, and the resignation of Rakhmon Nabiyev, chairman of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet. The meeting was organized by the Democratic Party of Tajikistan [DPT], despite the introduction on Monday of a state of emergency in the capital of the republic forbidding the holding of such gatherings and processions.

The reason for the meeting is the results of yesterday's emergency session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. According to DPT Chairman Shodmon Yusupov, "the procommunist parliament has overthrown Kadriiddin Aslonov, the lawfully elected acting president of the republic, and has insulted the Tajik people by introducing a state of emergency".

A group of USSR people's deputies from Tajikistan has issued a statement addressed to the USSR parliament and the country's Ministry of Internal Affairs in which it asks that the Armed Forces of the state should not be allowed to take part in supporting the state of emergency regime in Dushanbe.

Army Ordered Not To Intervene

LD2309193391 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The POSTFACTUM agency reports: (Alimjon Sabirov), commandant of the Dushanbe garrison, said that on the morning of 23 September instructions were received from Colonel General Vasilii Fuzhenko, commander of the Turkestan Military District, to the effect that the army should not intervene in the internal affairs of Tajikistan. Armored personnel carriers and tanks will not go out onto the streets, nor will soldiers, Sabirov said.

Aslonov Bans Communist Party Activities

LD2209122491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] We have received a report from Dushanbe today that a decree was issued by Aslonov, acting president of the Republic of Tajikistan, putting a stop to the activities of the republic's Communist Party on the territory of Tajikistan. All property of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and its legal successor on the republic's territory is being nationalized. The decree comes into force today.

Quits Tajik CP Politburo

LD2209130591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program
Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Chairman Aslonov, who is acting president of the republic until all-people elections are held, has declared that he is relinquishing his authority as a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan in connection with his decision to leave the ranks of the CPSU. In his statement, the head of parliament was motivated by the fact that in the circumstances of multiparty activities obtaining in the republic, he regards it impossible to remain in the ranks of any sociopolitical organization. In Aslonov's opinion, this will help him to express more objectively the interests of all sections of the population.

Decree Banning Communist Party

LD2209143591 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network
in Tajik 0700 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Decree by the acting president of the Republic of Tajikistan on banning the activities of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and Communist Party property:

1. The activities of the Communist Party of Tajikistan are banned on the territory of the Republic of Tajikistan.
2. All assets and property of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and its inheritors located on the territory of the Republic of Tajikistan are to be nationalized.
3. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan is instructed to take account of the assets and property of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, mentioned in the second article of this decree, take care of it, and specify the future use of such assets and property in accordance with the laws of the republic. To this end, a competent commission to be established.
4. The decree is valid from the date of assent.

[Signed] Aslonov, acting president of the Republic of Tajikistan

[Dated] 22 September 1991, Dushanbe

Communist Party Meets To Discuss Issues

LD2109110491 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network
in Tajik 0700 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Excerpts] An extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan was convened today in Dushanbe. Here is a report by our correspondent, Dodikhoda Rahmatshah:

[Begin Rahmatshah recording] The congress began its work in a calm and humble atmosphere. It was opened by Turgunov, second secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan's Central Committee. Following the election of the working bodies of the congress, Shabdolov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of Tajikistan, presented a report. As reasons for the present state of affairs in the party, he cited the system of order and leadership, and the difference between the words and actions of the party leaders and autocratic leadership. Another reason is that, due to the incompetence of its leaders, the Communist Party of Tajikistan was subservient to the center all these years, did not pay attention to the traditions of the people, and showed indifference toward the people's customs and religion. Ambitious and self-serving people found their way into the party ranks, particularly in its leading echelons, which regarded its interests as being above those of the people.

Speaking on the future of the party, the speaker said that it should be a completely new party—a party that expresses the will and desires of the people, that strives for the unity of the people residing in the republic, and whose words and action conform with present conditions. Shabdolov expressed his views on changing the name of the Communist Party of Tajikistan. [passage omitted on delegates discussing report]

Mirzoshoyev, first secretary of the Kolyab Oblast party committee, spoke on behalf of the Presidium. He said that now many people have gathered at Martyrs Square to demand that the extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan be dispersed, its activities be banned, and its assets and property nationalized and given to schools, otherwise the gathering will continue and its participants will enter the congress hall.

The congress resolved to stop discussions and to improve congress documents. The 22d extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan adopted a resolution on changing the name of the party. From now on, the Communist Party of Tajikistan will be called the Socialist Party of Tajikistan. An organizational committee was established to organize the new party. Shabdolov was elected chairman of the committee. With this the 22d extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan ended its work. [end recording]

Uzbekistan

Muslims Hold Anti-Karimov Demonstration

LD2209194591 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A meeting of several thousand people was held in Kokand, Uzbekistan, today under the slogans "The mufti for president," "Down with Communists." There

were similar demonstrations in Namangan Oblast yesterday, and in Indizhan Oblast the day before yesterday.

The cause of the demonstration, which may at any moment turn into disturbances, is the decision by President Karimov to reduce the Spiritual Administration of Muslims, and the search, sanctioned by him, of the office of the mufti, the senior representative of the Muslims.

The opposition feels that Karimov has violated several laws. By all accounts the temporary calm in Central Asia will soon be disrupted, and the scenario of events in this region will start to differ to a very substantial degree from what is happening in other republics. Here, a departure from the monopoly of leadership for absolutely all Communists—whatever they may call themselves today—is possible in favor of Islamic groupings. The Communists, which have hitherto maintained authority in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenia, and the Muslims, are the two basic centers of power in these republics. Democrats of the Western model, or, if you like, of the Russian model, enjoy no particular influence here, so that the imminent transition of power from the party family clans is possible, most likely, in favor of Muslim leaders, who enjoy the growing support of the people.

If this happens, it will do so under conditions of harsh struggle or even disturbances, and what emerges as a result may partially resemble the processes under way in neighboring Iran, for example.

Rustam Akhmedov Appointed Defense Minister

PM2009130591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 Sep 91 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Republic of Uzbekistan: We Present Minister for Defense Affairs"]

[Excerpts] On 10 September 1991 the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan by a decree appointed Colonel Rustam Urmanovich Akhmedov minister of defense affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan and commander of the National Guard.

R. Akhmedov was born in 1943 in Bagdatskiy Rayon, Fergana Oblast and he is an Uzbek and member of the CPSU. [passage omitted]

From 1986 through the present time he has served as chief of staff and deputy chief of civil defense of Tashkent Oblast. He has been awarded the order "for service to the Motherland in the USSR Armed Forces" third class" and medals.

R. Akhmedov is a deputy of the Tashkent Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.

He is married with three children.